



Class B P 305

Book A 4

1823





HISTORY  
OF THE  
**REFORMATION.**  
BEING AN  
Abridgment of Burnet;  
TOGETHER WITH  
SKETCHES OF THE LIVES  
OF  
**THER, CALVIN AND ZUINGLE,**  
THE THREE CELEBRATED REFORMERS OF THE CONTINENT.

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BY THE REV. BENJAMIN ALLEN,  
RECTOR OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

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"*And God said, Let there be light, and there was light.*"

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SECOND EDITION.

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1823.



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*Eastern District of Pennsylvania, to wit:*

**BE IT REMEMBERED,** That on the first day of February, in the forty-seventh year of the independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1823, the Rev. Benjamin Allen, of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

"History of the Reformation. Being an Abridgment of Burnet; together with Sketches of the Lives of Luther, Calvin, and Zuingle, the three celebrated Reformers of the Continent. By the Rev. Benjamin Allen, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia.—'And God said, Let there be light, and there was light.'—Second edition."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned"—And also to the act, entitled, "An Act supplementary to an Act, entitled, 'An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

D. CALDWELL,  
Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

## REVIEWS.

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*From the Theological Repertory for December, 1820.*

"The period which this history embraces, and the events which it details, are certainly among the most interesting disclosed in the annals of mankind.

"It has long been a source of regret to us, that the substance of Bishop Burnet's work, which, not only in its original form, but even in the abridgment extant, is too voluminous to be generally possessed or read by our lay brethren, should not have been brought into a compass sufficiently moderate to render it accessible to all. Our wishes, in this respect, are in a good measure accomplished by Mr. Allen's Abridgment. It will comprise, in a single volume of a medial duodecimo size, a judicious selection of properly connected facts, distributed into chapters of convenient length, and expressed in a style in which the perspicuous, concise, and simple manner of the original—and, in many instances, the precise language are preserved. This plan of abridgment will form no inconsiderable recommendation of the work, to those acquainted with the historical writings of Bishop Burnet."

*From the Churchman's Magazine for August, 1821.*

"The want of a work of this description has been long felt and acknowledged. The history of the great and interesting events, by which the reformation of the church was effected, has hitherto been found only in large and expensive volumes, and, consequently, has been accessible to very few. Hence, a work comprehending, in a narrow compass, all the principal facts immediately connected with the religious concerns of the interesting period of the Reformation, has been much desired. Such a work is now presented to the public, by the reverend author of this abridgment. We may safely say, that the author has executed his task with strict fidelity. All the leading and prominent facts are detailed; and they are presented to the reader with perfect fairness and candour. The work exhibits a lively sketch of those wonderful events, by which a kind and overruling Providence rescued an important branch of the Christian church from papal bondage and corruption, and restored it to the glorious liberty of the gospel, and to the simplicity and purity of its primitive state. It shows us how the church from which we have immediately descended, was preserved through wars and revolutions—through the terrors of persecution and martyrdom—and placed on a secure and permanent foundation. And it teaches us how much good and holy men have suffered, as instruments in the hand of Providence, for transmitting to their posterity and to the world the blessed privilege of worshipping God according to the rule of faith once delivered to the saints, and agreeably to the perfect pattern exhibited in the example of our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles."

Considering the propriety of introducing the work into schools—the *Gospel Advocate* for July, 1822, thus mentions it :

"It must be considered as an important work, and deserving of much commendation. No reason can be assigned why some knowledge of ecclesiastical history should not make a part of the religious education of children. Epitomes of civil and political history have been found eminently useful as preparatory to more extended knowledge. And if abridgments of Roman and Grecian history are introduced into our schools, why not also abridgments of the history of the Christian church? If our children are made acquainted at an early period with the events which led to the independence of our country, and the establishment of our present happy and prosperous civil institutions, why should they not also learn something of those interesting facts which relate to the purification of our mother church from those corruptions which had been introduced by her subjection to the see of Rome."

*From the Episcopal Magazine for September, 1821.*

"The reverend author appears to have performed his laborious task with great fidelity, perspicuity, and judgment. He has condensed within a small compass a great mass of information, and while he makes the reader sufficiently acquainted with the principal actors in this mighty revolution, he does not omit to touch very frequently on the secret springs that contributed to its success. Throughout the whole course of its progress, he clearly traces the finger of God, calling the attention of the reader to the secret workings of Providence in controlling the opposition of the most powerful, and confounding the wisdom of the wisest. No Protestant, however limited his education, should be ignorant of the facts contained in this abridgment. They will probably tend, more than any earthly consideration, to make him appreciate and cherish his religious privileges, and hold fast the liberty by which Christ has made him free. To adopt the eloquent language of the writer; 'who that sees the bright day of the gospel beginning to embrace the earth, but must hear with astonishment of times when a warrant from the throne was necessary before a single cottager could read his Bible; and who that thus hears, but must call on his soul and all within him, to bless the name of that God whose voice, through the medium of Bible Societies, is sounding over all the habitations of man those words of ancient date, 'let there be light,' nor sounding them in vain, since from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, we may already say, 'there is light.' To the abridgment of the history, the author has annexed brief sketches of the lives of Luther, Calvin, and Zuingle, they having been the principal actors in the great work of Reformation. These sketches are drawn with precision, fidelity, and candour, and cannot fail to interest every intelligent reader, who will discover in them the prominent features of these illustrious men."

*From the Port Folio for September, 1821.*

"We consider Mr. Allen's a very useful and interesting book, which ought to be generally read. We are pleased to hear that it is likely soon to arrive at a second edition."

## PREFACE.

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A traveller, in passing along an interesting country, and beholding pyramids of lofty structure, or edifices of mighty arch, would feel some satisfaction in hearing who were their founders, and reading the story of their progress through the various stages of their Herculean task to the bringing forth of the topstone. Travellers in the moral world, who behold the triumphal arch of Protestantism, and see the during pillars on which it rests, must feel a holy curiosity concerning the original builders, their toils, their trials, their perseverance, and their death: and if, as is the fact, any of them cemented their work with their blood, great must be the interest felt in their history. To such travellers an account of the reformers of the church of England, cannot fail to present an inviting repast. They were so calm, enlightened, and steady, in the pursuit of their object; they mani-

fested so much of the wisdom of the serpent, combined with the harmlessness of the dove; the result of their labours was so important; their sufferings were so great; and their martyrdoms so violent, that we cannot contemplate them without both profit and pleasure. Who that lives in this latter day, but must read with surprise, of times when men were sent to the stake for teaching the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, to their children; and who that thus reads, but must feel a lively gratitude to God for the rich privileges which now beam upon his path? Who that sees the bright day of the gospel beginning to embrace the earth, but must hear with astonishment of times when a warrant from the throne was necessary, before a single cottager could read his Bible; and who that thus hears, but must call on his soul, and all within him, to bless the name of that God, whose voice, through the medium of the Bible Society, is sounding o'er all the habitations of man, those words of ancient date, "Let there be light," nor sounding them in vain, since, from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same, we may already say, there is light? Who that loves the doctrine and order of the

church, but must behold with pleasure that doctrine, and that order, rising from the rubbish of Roman superstition, in which, for centuries, it lay buried, and asserting to the world its pure and primitive character? And who that delights in moral grandeur, such as that which shone in apostolic days, when ancient, became the prototype of modern Rome, and heathen emperors the forerunner of Christian popes, but must be gratified in approaching the fires of Smithfield, and witnessing the triumphant constancy of a host of martyrs?

All these views, interesting as they are, have hitherto been locked up from the people of this country in alarming volumes, found in the libraries of very few. The object of this work is to present the cream of those volumes in short and comprehensive details, embracing every thing in them of importance connected with religion. The style has, generally, been changed. Occasionally the language of the original has been preserved, and always, perfect faithfulness to its ideas has been aimed at.

For greater convenience, the work has been divided into chapters. Introductory remarks have been added, for which the author of this abridgment is, alone, accountable.

May the spirit of the Most High reform the world, and bring the various members of the catholic, or universal church to see eye to eye, until they become one fold in name, as well as in fact, and the knowledge of the Lord cover the earth as the waters the face of the great deep.

Charlestown, Jefferson County, (Va.) October, 1820.

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In presenting a second edition, the author of this abridgment desires to express his sense of obligation to the numerous friends who have favoured the work with reviews, and improved it by useful suggestions.

Philadelphia, February, 1823.

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# HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

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## CHAPTER I.

State of England—Wolsey—First beginnings of reformation—Henry's book—Tindal's translation—Henry wishes a divorce—His applications to Rome—Cranmer—Wolsey ruined—The clergy attacked—Application to the Universities—Successive attacks upon Rome—Henry marries Ann Boleyn—Cranmer consecrated—Catharine divorced—Popery condemned.

AT the commencement of the reign of king Henry the 8th, England was reposing in the arms of papal Rome, implicitly yielding to her spiritual despotism. There had been some contests by preceding kings against the exactions of the papacy, but these had always ended in submission, and the Vatican reigned lord paramount over the souls and bodies of Eng-

lishmen. The shrines of saints were visited by adoring multitudes; the doctrine of purgatory was an inexhaustible fountain of supply to the coffers of the priesthood; bishops were established in their sees by bulls from his holiness; appeals to Rome held all spiritual decisions in durance; images, and relics, and miracles abounded; the Bible was considered the source of heresy; and ignorance slept at the foot of superstition, while vice, in every variety, roamed unchecked through the land.

True, there were some who possessed copies of Wickliffe's Bible, and received its doctrine rather than the decrees of cardinals. But they were poor. They were not in authority. They were persecuted by the dominant power; and, from their inability to act with efficiency, were hardly known to exist. True, also, when any see became vacant, the king seized on its temporalities, and did not deliver them to the bishop appointed of Rome, until he had sworn allegiance; but Henry, as if to destroy this remnant of supremacy, surrendered it into the hands of his favourite Wolsey, who was the pope's legate.

Henry, however, appears to have been raised up by Providence to crush the power of pa-

pacy in England, and prepare the way for reformation.

In the fourth year of his reign, a law was passed subjecting the clergy to be tried by the civil courts. Heretofore, they had been amenable to none but ecclesiastical authority, and, such was the universal corruption, that, whatever crimes they committed, they usually escaped unpunished. This law was violently opposed by the whole clerical body, and nothing but the determined spirit of Henry, zealous for prerogative, carried it through. The pope was in trouble, and did not dare to resent the insult.

Yet, in all other matters, Henry continued a most faithful son of the see of Rome, during the first eighteen years of his reign; insomuch that pope Julius sent him a golden rose, and pope Leo 10th gave him more roses, and made his favourite Wolsey a cardinal.

Wolsey, though a bad man himself, obtained a bull from the pope to reform the clergy. His real object was, to pave the way for suppressing several of the monasteries, and converting them into colleges, cathedrals, &c.

The convocation of England was usually summoned by the king; who, with the writs

for a parliament, sent also a summons to the two archbishops of Canterbury and York, to call together the clergy of their respective provinces. But the cardinal, as legate, took this power into his own hands. In 1552, he summoned the convocation of Canterbury to Westminster, to reform abuses in the church. Here he demanded a heavy supply for the king, viz. one half of the full value of all livings for one year, to be paid in five years. This, with great difficulty, was obtained; but it enraged the clergy against the cardinal. He, however, despised them, especially the monks, whom he looked upon as idle mouths, of no use to church or state. They were indeed numerous, and generally given up to idleness and pleasure. He resolved on suppressing a great number of their institutions, and in this found no difficulty; for the king, being a friend to learning, had no objections to his endowing colleges with the spoils of monasteries. The pope, too, consented; and, in the 18th year of Henry, the foundation of a college was laid at Oxford, and in the 20th, that of another at Ipswich.

The first dawning of reformation in England, may, doubtless, be traced to the days of

Wickliffe, 150 years antecedent to this time; for then, the clergy being obnoxious to the people, on account of the rapacity of their exactions, he propagated several opinions hostile to their power. He translated the Bible from Latin into English, and circulated it, with a preface reflecting severely on the existing corruptions, condemning the worship of saints and images, denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, and exhorting all people to the study of the scriptures. He died in peace, though his body was afterwards burned; but the followers of his doctrine, who were generally among the illiterate, were severely persecuted. In the reign of Richard 2d, a law was passed subjecting them to trial; and, by a statute of Henry 4th, they were condemned to be burnt as heretics. Under this law many suffered. These martyrs were also called Lollards.\* In the first year of Henry, a considerable number were arraigned, and some were burned. The principal charges against them were, refusing to believe in transubstantiation, auricular confession, pilgrimages, worship of images, praying to saints, and purgatory.

\* See Appendix, No. 1.

The seeds sown by Wickliffe, and now flourishing in the Lollards, caused the doctrines of Luther, which were spreading in Germany, to gain friends in England. Many of the books containing them were translated into English, and widely circulated. This made the rage of persecution more violent. Great numbers were proceeded against. If a man uttered but a light word against the constitutions of the church, he was seized. If any taught their children the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the apostles' creed, in the vulgar tongue, that was deemed a sufficient crime to bring them to the stake. For this offence, six men and one woman were burnt at Coventry, on the 4th of April, 1519.

Henry employed his pen, as well as his power, against the heretics. He wrote a book against Luther, on the seven sacraments, which was extolled as a model of excellence. For this work, he received a pompous letter, signed by the pope and twenty-seven cardinals, and the title of "Defender of the faith." But Luther treated his book with great contempt.

William Tindal translated the New Testament into English, printed it at Antwerp, with

some short comments, and sent it over for distribution, in 1526. This was denounced by the papists as an erroneous translation, and all persons who had copies of it were commanded to deliver them up, on pain of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresy. Many other books were prohibited at the same time; most of them written by Tindal. Against some of these Sir Thomas More wrote. He was a man of learning, and an enemy to the ignorance of the clergy, but a bitter persecutor.

About this time, king Henry disputed the validity of his marriage with Catharine his queen. She had been wife to Arthur his brother, but though, in consequence of that, he had procured a dispensation from the pope on marrying her, he now found out that it was unlawful for a man to have his brother's widow. He laid the question before the bishops of England, and they decided in favour of a divorce; and, though the pope, by a bull, had sanctioned the marriage, he hoped to succeed in convincing him that the bull was granted on wrong representations, and in inducing him to revoke it.

With this view, he sent a messenger to Rome, to make his application; directing him to secure

all the friends he could around his holiness, by money and promises. The messenger found the pope imprisoned by the emperor. He presented the king's request, and received for answer, that the divorce should be granted. But, as soon as the pope was at liberty, he declined fulfilling his promise. The emperor, who was the nephew of Catharine, and violently opposed to the divorce, had him still in durance. His holiness, however, strove, by all the crooked arts of a most wily policy, to satisfy Henry that he was his friend, and that he only wished a little necessary delay. Messenger after messenger was sent by the king; bribe after bribe was given to the cardinals; subterfuge after subterfuge was resorted to by the pope; until, at length, two legates were appointed to try the question in England: viz. Campegio, who was despatched from Rome, and Wolsey. During the whole progress of the application, Wolsey was using all the earnestness fear could suggest; for he had pledged himself to effect the divorce, and he well knew, from the temper of Henry, that, if he failed, he would be ruined.

In 1529, the legates sat in England. Instructed by his holiness, Campegio delayed the

proceedings as much as possible, and when, at last, all things were ready for a sentence, he adjourned the court from July to October. Soon after, a messenger came summoning the cause to Rome. Henry could ill brook all this, but still he did not entirely break off from the pope. However, he denied his authority to cite him out of his kingdom.

To divert his mind, he made an excursion through his dominions. During it, he lay one night at Waltham. While there, his secretary and almoner, Gardiner and Fox, met with Dr. Cranmer, a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Knowing his great learning and solid judgment, they pressed him for his opinion concerning the divorce. He modestly declined; but told them, it would be best to ascertain whether the marriage was unlawful by virtue of any divine precept, for, if so, the pope's authority could not make that lawful which God had declared unlawful. He thought, therefore, that, instead of a fruitless application at Rome, it would be better to consult all the learned men and universities of Christendom: for, if they pronounced in the king's favour, the pope must needs give judgment; or, if he refused, the marriage would

be found sinful, notwithstanding his dispensation. With this proposition, Henry was delighted, and immediately sent for Cranmer, and received him to court.

Wolsey was ruined. He was attainted for treason, and shortly after died; declaring that, if he had served his God as he had served his king, he would not have been deserted in his grey hairs.

In the parliament that met in 1529, there were bills passed against several abuses of the clergy, and many severe reflections were made upon their vices and corruptions. These were believed to flow from men who had Luther's doctrine at heart. The king promoted this attack, that he might show the pope what he could do if driven to extremity.

Pursuant to the advice of Cranmer, application was made to the various learned bodies, for their opinions concerning the divorce. Oxford and Cambridge decided that the marriage was unlawful, as did also the universities of Padua, Bavaria, Orleans and Thoulouse; the divines of Ferrara; many of the Jewish Rabbins; the doctors of the Sorbonne; and a multitude of others, in Italy, and other parts of Europe. Zuingle united in the same deci-

sion. Calvin afterwards pronounced a similar sentiment.

These opinions being received, a letter was written to the pope, by the principal of the nobility, clergy, and commons of England, setting them forth; complaining of his conduct; and threatening that they must seek a remedy elsewhere, if he persisted in refusing a divorce. The pope answered, that, if the patient would hurt himself, it was not the physician's fault; and made new promises.

But the king, wearied with delay, published a proclamation against receiving bulls from Rome. He caused, also, the various arguments against his marriage to be drawn out, and published. He, moreover, brought all the clergy of England under a *premunire*.

There was an ancient law forbidding any one to exercise a legatine authority procured from Rome. Wolsey had acted as the pope's legate, and, of course, all who had transacted business in his courts were involved in his guilt. Moreover, there were various other laws passed in previous reigns against procuring translations, bulls, &c. from Rome; all which had remained in the statute book, but, from the power of the papacy, were regarded

as a dead letter. Against all these had the clergy transgressed: but they had done so with the king's knowledge, and oft by his command. However, it was in vain for them to frame excuses. Henry had determined to make the court of Rome feel the weight of his anger, and, therefore, he summoned them all to answer for their crime. They gladly compounded with him, and were pardoned, on paying a heavy sum of money; viz. the see of Canterbury one hundred thousand pounds, and of York, eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds.

In 1531, the convocation gave the king the title of "Supreme head of the church in England;" and thus another blow was aimed at the pope.

In 1532, parliament passed a law against paying annates, or first fruits of ecclesiastical benefices, to the church of Rome. This law was left subject to the king's confirmation, which it received the next year.

The pope, seeing his power declining in England, resolved, at last, to do all he could to recover it. He cited the king to appear at Rome, to answer to an appeal from queen Catharine on the subject of the divorce. Henry

sent an ambassador as excusator, with instructions to excuse his not appearing, and to insist on the prerogatives of the crown of England. A plea was drawn up, and debated in the consistory.

While this was in progress, a bull was obtained for suppressing several monasteries, and founding six new bishoprics.

November 14th, 1532, the king married Ann Boleyn.

In 1533, parliament passed an act against all appeals to Rome, declaring that the upper house of convocation should give final decision in all cases.

Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, dying, the king resolved to raise Cranmer to that see. Cranmer was then in Germany. He had made no application for the appointment, and, when he received intelligence of it, was much grieved. He travelled homeward by very slow journeys, that the king might have time to reflect maturely on the subject, and to select some other person. Henry, however, would accept none of his excuses; but was rather confirmed in the high opinion he entertained of him, by his great humility; and, at last, Cranmer was forced to yield.

Bulls were received from the pope for Cranmer's promotion; for, though it was contrary to law to ask for them, the king resolved not to break off entirely from Rome, until he was driven to it. The pope was not pleased with Cranmer as archbishop, for he knew him to be the familiar friend of the Lutherans, but he did not wish to precipitate the rupture with England by denouncing him. At his consecration, Cranmer refused to take the usual oath to the pope, without a full and formal protestation, that it should not bind him up from doing his duty to God, the king, and the church.

The question concerning the king's marriage was brought, once more, before the two houses of convocation, and the opinions of nineteen universities read against it; whereupon, a decision was given, declaring it contrary to the law of God; and, immediately after, the archbishop of Canterbury proceeded to pronounce sentence of divorce.

Rome declared this sentence null, and threatened the king with excommunication if he acted upon it. The king appealed from the pope, to a general council; as did Cranmer, who, also, was threatened with a process. Bonner delivered this appeal to the pope, and

he did it with so much vehemence and fury, that his holiness talked of throwing him into a caldron of melted lead, and he was glad to make his escape.

However, in consequence of the mediation of the king of France, Henry determined, once more, to submit to the pope, on receiving fresh promises that the divorce should be granted; but the imperialists precipitated a fresh decree against him, which separated him from Rome forever.

The pope's authority had been now, for four years, much examined and disputed in England. First, his power of dispensing with the law of God was controverted; then, the clergy were convicted of a *premunire*, for submitting to his jurisdiction; then, his right to annates and other exactions was questioned; then, all appeals to Rome were condemned:—So many branches of the tree being cut off, it only remained to strike at the root. Accordingly, the foundations of papal authority were scrutinized. For nearly a year, there were many public debates about it; and the subject was long agitated both in parliament and convocation. Several books were written; particularly “The institution for the necessary

erudition of a Christian man;" concluded in convocation, and published by authority.

At length, after summoning all the proofs from scripture and primitive practice, it was decided, that the pope's power in England had no foundation, either in the law of God, the laws of the church, or of the land.

And thus did the Most High overrule the evil passions of a wicked monarch, to a discovery of the rottenness of the root of that bohon upas papacy, and prepare the way for delivering the realm of England from its deadly influence.

## CHAPTER. II.

The King's supremacy asserted—First fruits given to the King—Suffragan Bishops—Tindal's translation circulated—Persecutions—Henry against reformation—Visitation of monasteries—Their corruptions—Suppression of monasteries—Translation of the Bible authorized—Queen Ann executed—The Pope seeks a reconciliation—First articles of religion—Injunctions—Rebellion—Relics and shrines abolished.

THE whirlwind of Henry's passions threatened destruction to truth as well as error, and, had not Cranmer been appointed of God to direct it, the very hopes of reformation themselves might have been swept away. A great work remained to be accomplished. The ecclesiastical elements were in wild disorder; and much prudence, and much perseverance, and much prayer, were necessary, to subdue them to harmony. Beside, the reformers had much to learn. They were young in the school of primitive discipline; and they were obliged, by close study of the scriptures and of apos-

tolic practice, to ascertain what were the true features of the church of Christ, before they could attempt to give them to the countenance of England. Accustomed, all their days, to the gorgeous array of Roman magnificence, it was only by slow degrees they arrived at a knowledge of the simple character of the polity of Jesus.

The usurpation of the pope having been crushed, the king's supremacy was next asserted; and it was declared, that, to him it pertained to defend the faith of Christ; to abolish abuses, heresies, and idolatries; and to see that the bishops and priests executed the pastoral office. At the same time, the clergy were called upon to obey the laws of the king, so far as they were not contrary to the laws of God.

In 1534, the annates, or first fruits of benefices, were given to the king; and an act was passed for making suffragan bishops, "which, as is said, had been accustomed to be had within this realm; for the more speedy administration of the sacraments, and other good, wholesome, and devout things, and laudable ceremonies; to the increase of God's honour, and for the commodity of good and devout people."

Tindal's translation of the scriptures was still circulated, to the great grief of the clergy; who clung to the corruptions of popery, though they had renounced the pope. In the fever of his zeal, Tonstal, bishop of London, purchased a great quantity of Tindal's first edition of the New Testament, and publicly burnt them at Cheapside. By this act, he contributed, most efficiently, to the publication of a more correct edition, which was widely spread.

Although an act was passed mitigating the proceedings against heretics, many were brought into the bishops' courts, and charged, some with teaching their children the Lord's prayer in English, some with reading the forbidden books, some with harbouring the preachers of new doctrine, some with speaking against pilgrimages, or worshipping and adorning images, some with not observing the church fasts, some with not coming to confession and the sacrament, and some with speaking against the vices of the clergy. Of these, many abjured their errors, but many were burned.

A part subscribed articles declaring that there was a purgatory, and that souls in it were

profited by masses said for them; that kings were not obliged to give their people the scriptures in the vulgar tongue; with several others.

These persecutions were opposed by the new queen, by Cranmer, and by Cromwell, the king's vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters.

The principal enemies of reformation, were, the duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. With these, joined, the greater part of the clergy.

The king, too, was no friend to the reformation; for he had written in defence of the Romish faith, and he did not like to retract his opinions. Moreover, he was afraid, if he favoured the doctrines of Luther, it would be said he did it out of spite to the pope; and he had reason to expect the emissaries of the pope and emperor would excite a rebellion among his subjects. Cranmer had, indeed, a difficult part to act.

In 1535, began the visitation of monasteries; set on foot for the purpose of ascertaining their corruptions, and preparing the way for suppressing them. They were all required to swear allegiance to the king's supremacy. Their internal polity was examined, and every

thing connected with them underwent a close inspection. Sundry injunctions were given them: as, that they were to teach the people the king's supremacy; to have a chapter in the Bible read at each of their meals; to live on common food; to listen to a lecture of divinity for a whole hour every day; and to be well employed. The Abbot was, every day, to explain to them, that, religion consisted, not in rites, but in cleanness of heart, pureness of life, unfeigned faith, brotherly charity, and honouring of God in spirit and in truth. In these we may discover the heart and hand of Cranmer; but, such was the licentiousness of the monks, they were by no means pleased with them.

Monasteries were, at an early age, very numerous in England. They were robbed and ruined by the Danes in the 8th century, but king Edgar re-established them. During succeeding reigns, their number was increased, and, by every possible means, their coffers were enriched. Saying masses to relieve souls from purgatory, was a most lucrative source of revenue. So general was the belief in their virtue, that statutes in mortmain became necessary, in order to prevent the greater

part of the estates in England being given to the brotherhood. The shrines, and images, and relics of saints, were, also, profitable: for, the multitude were persuaded, that, pilgrimages and presents to them, would secure an intercession in Heaven. But, the corruption of the monks became so excessive, that, from the 12th century downward, their reputation abated. As they lost ground, the orders of begging friars rose. These, by great appearance of mortification, gained much esteem. They were not as idle and lazy as the monks, but went about, and preached, and heard confessions, and carried indulgences, with many other pretty little things,—Agnus Dei's, Rosaries, and Pebbles; which they made the world believe had great virtue in them. There was a firm union of their whole order; they having a general at Rome, and a provincial in each of their provinces. The school-learning was wholly in their hands, and they were great preachers. But they, too, had become extremely licentious; and, in secret, they plotted much against the king, opposing both his divorce and his supremacy.

Henry determined to suppress the houses of these monks and friars, not only on account

of their extreme wickedness, and their enmity against him, but also, because, being afraid of a war with the emperor, he wanted money to fortify his ports; and, seeing the great advantage of trade, he resolved to encourage it by building harbours. Moreover, he intended, pursuant to the advice of Cranmer, to erect many more bishoprics; that, the dioceses being reduced to a narrower compass, bishops might better discharge their duties, and oversee their flocks; according to the scriptures and the primitive rules.

But Cranmer's object was, by the suppression of monasteries, not only to destroy the fountains of belief in purgatory, worship of saints, and pilgrimages, but, also, to obtain the foundation of theological seminaries for every diocese.

In the course of the visitation, abominations were discovered, so great, that we cannot stain our page with their recital.

In 1536, Cranmer moved in convocation, to petition the king for a translation of the Bible, to be set up in all the churches. This was violently opposed by the papists, who insisted upon it, that, all the heresies then existing, flowed from the use of the Bible by the people.

But the petition passed, and the king gave orders for the translation to be made.

Queen Ann falling under her consort's displeasure, and he determining to get rid of her, Cranmer espoused her cause, and wrote a letter in her behalf, but in vain; the popish party drove on the blind passions of the king, and she was put to death.

After the execution of Ann, the pope made overtures for a reconciliation: but Henry, instead of listening to them, procured two additional acts from parliament, extinguishing still more the authority of the bishop of Rome in England. One of these declared, "that the pope had long darkened God's word, that it might serve his pomp, glory, avarice, ambition, and tyranny, both upon the souls, bodies, and goods of all Christians, excluding Christ out of the rule of man's soul, and princes out of their dominions; and had exacted in England great sums, by dreams, vanities, and other superstitious ways." It severely threatened his missionaries, who were practising up and down the kingdom. The other declared null all grants made by the pope, requiring them to be brought in to the chancery, whence new letters patent might be taken out.

There was much argument in convocation concerning the opinions of the Lollards, and an attempt made to assault Cranmer, Latimer, and some others, on account of them: but this failed; for the king declared, that, the rites and ceremonies of the church should be reformed by the rules of scripture; and, moreover, that, since the Bible was acknowledged to contain the laws of religion, it was absurd to have recourse to glosses or decrees of popes.

At length, Henry devised sundry articles himself, and, after much debate in convocation, they were agreed to. These directed, that all bishops and preachers should instruct the people to believe the whole Bible, and the three creeds—the apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian; interpret all things according to them, and in the very same words, and condemn all heresies contrary to them; that they should instruct the people concerning the necessity of baptism for infants as well as adults, and of penance—which consisted in contrition, or an inward shame and sorrow for sin, because committed against God, and in confession, and amendment of life; and that they should teach them, that, to penance must be joined the faith that God will forgive

and justify, not for the worthiness of human merit, but for the only merits of the blood and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

They were also directed to instruct the people, that they must bring forth the fruits of penance, in prayer, fasting, alms-deeds, restitution and satisfaction for wrongs done to others, with the various works of mercy, and charity, and obedience to God's commandments; and that, without these, they could not be saved.

The good works necessary to salvation were taught to be, "not only outward, civil works, but the inward motions and graces of God's holy Spirit; to dread, fear, and love him; to have firm confidence in God; to call upon him, and to have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and have purposes and wills not to sin again."

By the same articles, it was said, that images were useful to stir up devotion, but should not be worshipped. Praying to saints was encouraged; also sundry ceremonies, such as sprinkling holy water, giving holy bread, creeping to the cross on Good Friday, &c. &c. &c. Transubstantiation and auricular confession were inculcated, together with

praying for the souls of the departed; but the idea of purgatory, so profitable to popery, was condemned.

Thus was the gold of truth mingled with the alloy of error.

Though much rubbish was left, the reformation gained much by these articles: for, four sacraments were passed over; scripture was appealed to as the standard; the foundation of Christian faith was truly stated; immediate worship of images and saints was removed; and the trade of purgatory abolished.

Beside these, several injunctions were published, by virtue of the king's supremacy.

The clergy were directed to inform the people, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power had no ground in the law of God, and was, for good reasons, abolished; and that the king's power was, by the law of God, supreme.

They were not to extol images or relics, nor to exhort to pilgrimages, but to instruct the people to keep God's commandments; to do works of charity; to believe that God was better served by them when they stayed at home and provided for their families, than when they went on pilgrimages—and that the mo-

nies laid out upon these, had better be given to the poor.

They were to exhort the people to teach their children the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the ten commandments in English; and were to explain these, one article a day, until all should be instructed: moreover, they were to take great care that the children should be brought up to some trade, or way of living.

They were to instruct the people in good and wholesome doctrine; and not to pursue their own profit or interest, so much as the glory of God, and the good of souls.

They were cautioned to avoid taverns, &c. and to give themselves to the study of the scriptures; and they were told to excel others in purity of life, and to be examples of holiness.

Every beneficed person who had twenty pounds income, and did not reside, was required to give the fortieth part to the poor of the parish.

Every one whose income equalled one hundred pounds, was required to support one scholar at the grammar school or university, and one more for every additional hundred.

This was intended as a nursery of clergymen.

They were to keep their parsonage houses in good repair; and, if necessary, to devote one fifth of their profits to that purpose.

These injunctions were undoubtedly drawn up by Cranmer. He was illustrious as a blessing and an example. His great industry was incessant in collecting, from the Bible, and from the ancient fathers, information concerning religion, that he might proceed with the best lights in the work of reformation.

But long established error is not easily rooted out. Satan will not give up his strong holds without a battle. The people of England, accustomed as a body to the doctrines of popery, not yet enlightened in the truth, and continually excited by the old clergy, were very much disposed to rebel. The pope had thundered against Henry, and these thunderings, though not so terrible as formerly, were not without some effect.

At length the storm, so long threatened, burst forth. A rebellion broke out in Lincolnshire, directed by a monk. Twenty thousand were gathered together, but the duke of Suffolk quelled them. Immediately, there

was a general and formidable rising in the north. A great multitude assembled under one Ask. They called their march, the pilgrimage of grace. Several priests bearing crosses went before them. In their banners they had the crucifix, with the five wounds, and a chalice; and each one wore in his sleeve, as a badge, an emblem of the five wounds of Christ, with the name of Jesus wrought in the midst. This rising in Yorkshire encouraged those in Lancashire, Durham, and Westmoreland, to arm; but they were soon dispersed; and, at last, though not without great trouble and danger, the northern tempest was laid.

The suppression of monasteries was still going on, and, the farther the work advanced, the more iniquity was discovered. Many signed confessions of their guilt, of which one says, “for their past ill life the pit of Hell was ready to swallow them up—they had neglected the worship of God, and lived in idleness, gluttony, and sensuality.”

In one monastery were found as many re-lics as could be named in four sheets of paper; among which, was, an angel, with one wing, that brought over the spear’s head that pierced

our Saviour's side. There were also found some of the coals that roasted St. Lawrence, the parings of St. Edmund's toes, St. Thomas a Becket's pen-knife and boots, with as many pieces of the cross of our Saviour as would make a large whole cross, a piece of St. Andrew's finger set in an ounce of silver, with a multitude of others of equal veracity. Many of the images were broken; among which was one, that, by means of springs, was made to move the head, hands, and feet; this had proved very profitable. Some of the blood of a duck was found in a phial, which was thick on one side and thin on the other; the people were taught to believe this was the blood of Christ, and, on their paying a considerable sum, the thin side of the phial was turned towards them, and they were permitted to see the blood. In Wales there was found a huge image of wood, which was visited by five or six hundred pilgrims in one day; some carried oxen and cattle, and some money, to induce the image to deliver their souls from Hell. But the shrine of Thomas a Becket was most profitable. It was valued abundantly more than the shrine of the Virgin Mary, or of Christ; for, in one year, there was offered at

Christ's altar 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*; at the Virgin's 6*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*; but at Thomas's 8*32l.* 12*s.* 3*d.*—And, the next year, was offered at Christ's—**NOTHING**; at the Virgin's 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*; but at Thomas's 9*54l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* A jubilee of 15 days was ordained for Becket, by Rome, every fiftieth year, and *indulgence was granted to all that would visit his shrine.* In the sixth jubilee, in 1420, one hundred thousand strangers visited his tomb; and, with them, an immense wealth. Henry determined to unshrine and unsaint him at once, for, he caused his shrine to be broken down and carried away, his bones to be mingled with others, so that it would have been a miracle to have discovered them, and his name to be struck out of the calendar.

And thus was the superstition of England, in regard to images and relics, extirpated.

## CHAPTER III.

The Bible published—Injunctions to the clergy—Cranmer loses ground—Popery gains an advantage—The six articles—Henry's attachment to Cranmer—Persecution—Private persons allowed Bibles—New articles—Free will—Second edition of the Bible—State of Scotland—Injunctions laid by Bonner—Preaching of the friars—Written sermons.

COULD the depravity of man invade the Heaven of Heavens, it would darken the splendours of that bright abode. Whatever it touches it contaminates. The gospel came from the hand of its Author pure as the bowers of Eden, but man, yielding to the voice of the tempter, has ever defiled and perverted it; making the messenger of mercy, a shedder of blood—the angel of purity, a patron of crime.

The church of Rome has been adorned with a Fenelon, a Pascal, and a Massillon; she has now in her bosom some who are like diamonds amid abounding rubbish; and many, we hope, have passed through her to rest; but

we can have no fellowship with her abominations. The work of reformation advances, and we rejoice to perceive it. Who that has wandered amid the darkness of night, but has hailed with rapture the full-orbed moon, rising from behind the clouds that surrounded it, and pouring its reflected radiance upon the gloomy path?

In 1538, an edition of the Bible was finished in London, and the king gave his warrant, allowing all his subjects to read it, without control or hazard. Cranmer rejoiced that he saw this “day of reformation, which he concluded was now risen in England, since the light of God’s word did shine over it without a cloud.” The printing of this edition was commenced in Paris, but, though the king of France gave his permission, the clergy caused the press to be stopped, and most of the copies to be seized, and publicly burnt: in consequence of which, the workmen and forms were carried over to England. Injunctions were given to all incumbent clergymen, to provide one of these Bibles, and set it up publicly in the church, and to encourage all to read it as the true and lively word of God. All were exhorted not to contend about it. At the same

time, it was ordained, that, in every church, there should be a sermon, every quarter of a year, at least, to declare to the people the true gospel of Christ, and to exhort them to the works of charity, mercy, and faith. Moreover, the clergy were directed to instruct the people in the principles of religion, by teaching the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, in English; and to inform them that they had better omit the prayers to the saints, than neglect the prayers to God.

But the king was a steadfast believer in transubstantiation, and, set on by Gardiner, he persecuted those who denied the truth of it, under the name of sacramentaries. One of these, Lambert, was burnt.

Cranmer's influence at court began to diminish, and that of the papists to gain ground. The princes of Germany, who were leaders of the reformation, applied to Henry to unite with them, accept the Augsбурgh confession, and become the patron of their league; but Gardiner, and the other Romans, strove hard to prevent this union, and finally succeeded. Melancthon wrote the king a long letter, encouraging him to proceed in the good work of reformation.

The holy cause began sensibly to waver. In 1539, six popish articles were enacted in parliament. Cranmer argued long against them, but, such was the weight of his enemies, without effect. These declared—

1st. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remained no substance of bread and wine, but that, under these forms, the natural body and blood of Christ were present.

2d. That communion in both kinds was not necessary to salvation to all persons, by the law of God; but that both the flesh and blood of Christ were together, in each of the kinds.

3d. That priests, after the order of priesthood, might not marry by the law of God.

4th. That vows of chastity ought to be observed, by the law of God.

5th. That the use of private masses ought to be continued, which, as it was agreeable to God's law, so men received great benefit by them.

6th. That auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the church.

It was ordained that persons denying the

first of these articles should be burnt as heretics, and forfeit their estates; and that those denying the other articles, should suffer death as felons.

When this bill was about to pass the house of lords, the king, who knew how displeasing it was to Cranmer, desired him to withdraw; but that faithful soldier of Jesus humbly excused himself, for he felt bound in conscience to remain and oppose it.

Great was the joy of the papists, and strong their hopes of revenge; but there is a God who directeth the storm.

Henry, apprehending that Cranmer would be cast down at the passage of this act, treated him with great tenderness. He sent for him, and told him he had heard how great and how learned his opposition was, and desired him to put all his arguments in writing, that he might read them. By various other means he endeavoured to assure him of his esteem and favour.

In fact, such was the estimation in which the king held Cranmer, on account of his superior integrity of character, as well as mildness, learning, and eloquence, that he always regarded him with attachment. While he

would allow no other to oppose the violence of his passions, Cranmer did it with impunity.

But, though the chief of the reformers escaped the fury of this act, it fell heavily upon others. In a very little time five hundred persons were involved in breach of statute, and put in prison; but the king was prevailed upon to pardon them. Latimer and Shaxton, two reforming bishops, resigned their sees.

Notwithstanding the increasing influence of popery, Cranmer procured leave for private persons to buy Bibles, and keep them in their houses. Gardiner opposed this, and argued against it in the presence of the king; but Henry took him up sharply, and told him Cranmer was an old and experienced captain, and not to be troubled by freshmen and novices.

It was a wonderful Providence, that thus made Cranmer, the master spirit, capable of ruling the turbulent Henry. We can look to no other than an Almighty cause; for the reformer appears never to have swerved from duty, or descended to any thing like a surrender of faithfulness, in order to retain his influence. Indeed, he, more than once, in-

trepidly threw himself, as a shield, between the monarch and the object of his hate; thus sustaining his integrity at the hazard of his life. An instance of this occurred on the fall of Cromwell; Cranmer interposed to save him, but he interposed in vain. In Cromwell the reformation lost an important friend.

A. D. 1540, a commission sat about religion. Their first business was to draw up a declaration of Christian doctrine. In this, they clearly and fully set forth justification by faith, and its attendant works. They explained the apostles' creed, and defined the sacraments. Cranmer would fain have reduced the number to two; but popery prevailed, and retained the seven. They also explained the commandments: Gardiner wished to leave out part of the second, and succeeded in some degree. Moreover, they explained the Lord's prayer, and the Ave Maria. On the subject of free-will, they said, "It must be in man, else, all precepts and exhortations were to no purpose; but, they said, the grace of God was necessary; and they warned all preachers, so to moderate themselves in this high point, that they neither should so preach the grace of God, as to take away free-will; nor so extol

free-will, as that injury might be done to the grace of God."

But, though the doctrines of reformation were thus substantially advancing, the papists, having the power, determined to persecute the heretics, as they called all who favoured Luther's opinion. Accordingly, many were burnt at the stake.

In the 33d year of Henry, a new impression of the Bible was finished; and he, by proclamation, required all curates and parishioners, of every town and parish, to provide themselves a copy of it before Allhallow's-tide, enacting a penalty of forty shillings for every month that should elapse after that, until they were supplied. Some of these Bibles were chained to pillars in the church at London, with an exhortation written, admonishing all that came thither to read, "that they should lay aside vain-glory, hypocrisy, and all other corrupt affections, and bring with them discretion, good intentions, charity, reverence, and a quiet behaviour, for the edification of their own souls; but not to draw multitudes after them; nor to make expositions of what they read; nor to read aloud, nor make noise in time of divine service; nor enter into dis-

putes concerning it." But the people came, generally, to hear the scriptures read; and such as could read, and had clear voices, came often with great crowds around them. Many sent their children to school, that they might carry them to St. Paul's, and hear them read the scriptures. And many could scarce refrain from disputing, especially when they read of the institution of the sacrament, and saw the command—*Drink ye all of this;*—a command which militated so directly against the popish mode of administration; also, when they saw Paul's discourse against having worship in an unknown tongue. Bonner complained, and threatened to remove the Bibles out of the church, if the people continued to abuse so high a favour.

While these things were proceeding in England, some light began to beam amid the cloud of superstition enveloping Scotland. Having received her learning and learned men from France, she still continued closely connected with that kingdom. True religion had, from age to age, been persecuted. In 1407, John Resby, a Wickliffite, was burnt; and, in 1432, John Crew, a Hussite. Toward the close of the 15th century, many Lollards

were found in the western parts, bordering on England; among whom were several persons of quality: of these, some were questioned, but discharged. Patrick Hamilton, a man of noble blood, having adopted and preached Luther's doctrine, was burned, with many others.

But, notwithstanding these violent proceedings, the doctrines of reformation spread. Many, by reading the scriptures, arrived at a knowledge of the truth; and the noise of what was doing in England, led others to inquire concerning religion.

The Scotch king yielded himself a prey to luxury and extravagance. The popish priests, generally, were ignorant and dissolute. The bishop of Dunkeld, reproving one of his clergy for being a zealous preacher, told him, "he thanked God he had lived well these many years, and never knew either the Old or New Testament; and if the other would trouble himself with these fantasies, he would repent it when he could not help it." No pains were taken to instruct the people, and no children were catechised.

Henry repeatedly endeavoured to bring the king of Scotland into a league with him

against the pope, but in vain. Persecution still raged; but “the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church.”

In 1542, the popish party in England made another attempt to prevent the circulation of the scriptures. They pretended that the existing translation was erroneous, and asked leave to prepare a new one. They also proposed publishing a partial translation, leaving many words in Latin, lest the people should wrest them to heresy; but Cranmer perceived their object was to do that covertly, which, on account of the king’s determination to have the Bible in the hands of his subjects, they did not dare attempt openly; and he succeeded in disappointing them.

Several injunctions were laid on his clergy, by Bonner, bishop of London, in the 34th year of Henry. These were, no doubt, drawn by Cranmer, and imposed by the king. Among them were the following:

That every clergyman should read and study a chapter of the Bible every day, with the exposition of the gloss, or some approved doctor; which, having once studied, he should retain in his memory, ready to give an account of it to the bishop, or any whom he should appoint.

That the clergy should instruct the children of their several parishes, and teach them to read English, that they might know how to believe, and pray, and live according to the will of God.

That they should reconcile all who were in enmity; and, in that respect, be a good example to others.

That twice every quarter, they should declare the seven deadly sins, and the ten commandments.

That no plays, or interludes, should be acted in the churches.

That no priest should go but in his habit.

That no priest should use unlawful games, or go to alehouses or taverns, but upon an urgent necessity.

That they should often exhort their parishioners to make no private contracts of marriage.

No bowling or drinking to be allowed by keepers of taverns, under pain of excommunication.

That they should exhort the people to abstain from scolding, backbiting, slandering, lying and cursing, with other sins.

That no priest should preach the sermon of

another man, which had been written within the last two or three hundred years; but that, when they preached, they should explain the gospel and epistle of the day, according to the mind of some approved doctor of the church. That there should be no railing in sermons; but the preacher should calmly and discreetly set forth the excellencies of virtue, and the vileness of sin; and should explain the prayers and ceremonies. That there should be no fables or stories recited, for the truth of which some good writer could not be produced; and that, when the sermon was ended, the preacher should, in a few words, *recite again the pith and effect of it, and add thereunto, as he should think good.*

In the days of popery, there were very few sermons except in Lent; for the discourses on holy days were generally panegyrics of saints or reliques. In Lent, the mode of preaching was more solemn and serious; and the friars, who maintained their credit chiefly by their performances at that time, used all the force of their skill and industry, to raise the people into heats, by passionate and affecting discourses. Their themes, generally, were abstinence, confession, corporal severities, indulgencies,

pilgrimages, enriching of shrines, &c. Very little was said about vice, or holiness, or the wonderful love of Christ, by which men should be drawn to obey him. The chief design, was rather to create an excitement, which they knew how to manage, than to work a reformation in their hearers. So many fables were mingled with divine truth, that the whole became extravagant.

These things being so, the reformers studied with all possible care to instruct the people in the fundamental principles of Christianity. Some of the new preachers were violent in their zeal, and indiscreet in their reflections on the opposite party; but, now that the reformation had made greater progress, much pains were taken to send eminent men over the nation; not confining them to particular charges, but sending them, with the king's license, up and down to many places. Provision was made, too, for the people's daily instruction; and, as a sufficient number of good preachers could not be obtained, a volume was printed, consisting of homilies, or plain practical paraphrases on the epistles and gospels of the Sundays and holidays; to which were added, sermons for christenings, wed-

dings, and funerals; and directions were given, that these should be read in the congregations by such as were not licensed to preach.

Those who were licensed, being often accused, on account of their sermons, and complaints being made to the king, by violent men on both sides, the custom of writing and reading sermons was introduced. From hence the reading of sermons grew into a practice in the church of England; “in which, if there was not that heat and fire, which the friars had shewed in their declamations, so that the passions of the hearers were not so much wrought on by it; yet it has produced the greatest treasure of weighty, grave, and solid sermons, that ever the church of God had; which does, in a great measure, compensate that seeming flatness to vulgar ears, that is in the delivering of them.”

Plays, and interludes, had been sometimes acted in the churches, in order to ridicule the monks and popish clergy; but this was condemned by the pious reformers, though it was encouraged by politic men.

## CHAPTER IV.

Cranmer's industry and sound judgment—His success—Persons who might read the Bible—Persecution—Attempt on Cranmer—His forgiving temper—Extracts from the canon law of Rome—Translation of part of the service—Reforming bishops appointed—Persecution—Design upon Cranmer—Frustrated by Henry—Henry's death.

It is useful to contemplate these struggles for liberty of conscience—this settling down in a permanence of religious order. Who that beholds the sufferings of the reformers, but must feel thankful, that he is permitted to sit beneath the spiritual vine, with none to molest or make him afraid; that he is allowed to worship as the Bible teaches him, with none to interpose between his conscience and his God.

Cranmer was never idle; and all his exertions were devoted to forwarding the holy cause. He did not despair, because he could not effect every thing; neither was he so rash, as to expect all at once. His enemies were

powerful; but he knew there was One mightier than they *between the cherubim*—and in that One he trusted.

In 1543, he procured the passage of an act, lessening, in some degree, the severity of the act of the Six articles; delivering the laity from the hazard of burning, and subjecting the clergy thereto, only on the third conviction. This was gained with great difficulty, and not without a proviso, placing all at the mercy of the king.

By this act, Tindal's notes to his translation were condemned, as well as some other books. Every nobleman, gentleman, merchant that was a householder, noblewoman, or gentlewoman, was allowed to read the Bible, or hear it read: but no women, or artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen under the degree of yeomen, husbandmen, or yeomen, were permitted to read it. All were allowed to read the “Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man,” with the psalter, primer, pater-noster, the ave, and the creed, in English. None might read or expound the scriptures in any assembly, without license from the king.

During this year, the flame of persecution

broke out afresh, and several reformers were burnt at Windsor. The train of destruction was laid around Cranmer; but the king revealed it to him, and delivered him from it. The king was disposed to punish the plotters, but Cranmer would not urge him: in fact, he was so much in the habit of returning good for evil, that it was generally said, “the way to get his favour is to do him an injury.” In this instance, he forgave all his enemies, and treated them with kindness. Not long after, he made application to Henry to procure a favour for one of them: the unceremonious monarch told him, that man was a knave, and his mortal enemy; and bade him, when he saw the man next, call him a knave to his face. Cranmer answered, that such language did not become a bishop; but Henry sullenly commanded him to do it. However, his piety was such, that he could not obey so harsh a command. When these things came to be known, all acknowledged that his behaviour was suitable to the example and doctrine of the meek and lowly Saviour, and well became so great a bishop, and such a reformer of the Christian religion.

Cranmer often pressed, with great vehe-

mence, the drawing up a body of ecclesiastical laws for England; the canon law of Rome then in force, being, in many respects, not only improper, but blasphemous; as will be seen by the following extracts—viz.:

“He that acknowledgeth not himself to be under the bishop of Rome, and that the bishop of Rome is ordained by God to have primacy over all the world, is an heretic, and cannot be saved, nor is not of the flock of Christ.

“All the decrees of the bishop of Rome ought to be kept perpetually of every man, as God’s word, spoken by the mouth of St. Peter; and whosoever doth not receive them, they blaspheme the Holy Ghost, and shall have no forgiveness.

“The see of Rome hath neither spot nor wrinkle in it, nor cannot err.

“Nothing may be done against him that appealeth unto Rome.

“The bishop of Rome may be judged of none, but of God only; for although he neither regard his own salvation, nor no man’s else, but draw down with himself innumerable people by heaps unto Hell, yet may no mortal man in this world presume to reprehend him; forasmuch as he is called God, he may not be

judged of man, for God may be judged of no man.

“The bishop of Rome may open and shut Heaven unto men.

“The see of Rome receiveth holy men, or else maketh them holy.

“It appertaineth to the bishop of Rome to judge which oaths ought to be kept, and which not.

“Whosoever teacheth or thinketh of the sacraments, otherwise than the see of Rome doth teach and observe, be excommunicate.

“He is no manslayer, that slayeth a man which is excommunicate.

“A penitent person can have no remission of his sin, but by supplication of the priests.”

Surely, this is “*exalting himself above all that is called God, and, as God, sitting in the temple of God.*”

In 1544, Henry ordered that the prayers for the processions, and the litanies, should be translated into English. This was peculiarly pleasing to the reformers, as they hoped that all the other offices would follow, and the whole service be enjoyed in the vulgar tongue.

In 1545, Cranmer was strengthened by the appointment of several reforming bishops.

In 1546, an arrangement was made, between the king and the French admiral Annebault, for carrying on the reformation in both England and France. It was agreed, that the mass should be changed for a communion, and Cranmer was ordered to draw up a form of it; but this fell to the ground.

Henry flew again into one of his angry fits against the reformers, and a new persecution commenced. During this, Shaxton recanted, and Anne Askew, with several others, was burnt.

But Cranmer was as the apple of the king's eye. A new design was set on foot against him, and the king pretended to accede to it, in order to ascertain how far the accusers would go: therefore, he gave permission for them to summon him before the council; but, during the night previous, sent for him, and made known the plot. Cranmer, with great candour and honest simplicity, offered himself for trial, and requested that judges might be appointed. The king told him, he was "a fool, that looked to his own safety so little: did he think false witnesses would not be procured?—therefore, since he did not take care of himself, he would see to it." He gave him

his seal-ring, and directed him to show that to his enemies, if they proceeded improperly in council. In the morning, Cranmer was summoned. He was kept waiting at the door of the council chamber, until a message from the king made them call him in; but when, at length, he showed them the ring, they were thrown into great confusion, and ran instantly to the king, to beg his pardon. The king chid them sharply, and protested by the faith he owed to God, laying his hand on his Bible, that if a prince could be obliged by his subject, he was by the archbishop; and that he took him to be the most faithful subject he had, and the person to whom he was most beholden: saying, moreover, he would not suffer men, who were so dear to him, to be handled in that fashion, and commanding them all to be reconciled to Cranmer.

Thus, while the lesser props of the reformation was assaulted without mercy, its main pillar was continually preserved. Truly, “it is the Lord’s doing, and marvellous in our eyes.”

At length, the long and eventful reign of Henry drew near its close. His arguments and his quarrels, with papists and with pro-

testants, approached their final termination. He had been so much like a cloud, suspended between two islands, and discharging its fury, alternately, at each, that his life was not very desirable to any. In 1547, he died. He was, undoubtedly, a man of strong mind, richly endowed, but his passions were indiscriminate as tigers; they devoured whatever came in their way. He might have been as a fertilizing river to the whole land, but he was rather a capricious torrent, tearing away budding fields and blooming gardens, as well as thorny rubbish and useless rocks. Instead of a positive, he was a negative blessing; and it was only by the Most High overruling his iniquities, that he became the first royal promoter of reformation in England.

## CHAPTER V.

King Edward—Germany—Reformation urged on—Want of Clergymen—Homilies prepared—Ignorance of the people—Articles and injunctions—Mary opposes the reformation—Laws against heretics repealed—Mode of choosing bishops—Commission appointed to revise the liturgy—Germany—Popish rites abolished—Images destroyed.

FROM Henry's tomb there sprung forth a vine, which, though tender in age, was beautiful in promise, and rich as the clusters of Eshcol. The hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars. It passed away, but its memorial lived, fresh to the view of each succeeding generation, and fragrant even now as the odours of sweet incense. Edward, the Josiah of England, succeeded his father. He was only nine years old when he began to reign, and, by the will of his father, was placed under the care of sixteen counsellors, who were to govern the kingdom until the completion of his 18th year. Of these coun-

sellors, Cranmer was, blessed be God, chief in influence. One of them, who was Edward's uncle, the earl of Hereford, was made lord protector, and created duke of Somerset.

Henry, unsettled in mind, and anxious, perhaps, to cling to every thing that might whisper hope, had, in his last days, given directions that masses should be said for his soul. This the reformers opposed, for two reasons; 1st, Because it would be a bad example to the people; and, 2d, Because he himself had purposed to change the mass into a communion.

As soon as the people discovered that Cranmer had so great influence with the new king, and that the executors generally favoured the reformation, they gave a loose to their zeal, and began to pull down the images in the churches. In this they were met by the opposition of the papists, especially of Gardiner.

The Protestants of Germany made application to the council for help. Charles 5th was aiming at universal empire, and, as a cloak, pretended his only object was the suppression of heresy. But, the French and the Turks being opposed to him, he proceeded cautiously, endeavouring to keep good terms, as well with

the reformers as with the see of Rome. To gain the Protestant princes, he agreed to the edict of Spire, providing that no one should be molested on account of his religion, until a free council had decided the points in dispute; and, to gain the pope, he agreed that there should be a council at Trent, and that he would compel all the princes to submit to its decrees. The council of Trent sat, the perfect creature of the pope; for a few bishops and abbots, with his legates at their head, usurped the title of a Catholic council.

Perceiving themselves betrayed, the princes began to prepare for their defence, and, as one means, made an application to England. The council voted them fifty thousand crowns.

The leaders of the papists in England, were Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstal. They contended, that all farther reformation should be delayed, until the king became of age; but Cranmer, and the protector, were resolved to press on the work at once. However, they were willing to proceed slowly, and not hazard too much.

Such was the weakness and irreligion of many of the popish bishops, that they cared but little what was uppermost, so they retain-

ed their livings. True, they preferred popery, because that encouraged their main support, ignorance; but they determined to swim with the current, and, accordingly, declared for reformation, as did the Roman clergy generally.

The reformers were much discouraged, by the want of a sufficient number of pious, learned clergymen. To remedy this evil, they drew up several homilies, or sermons, on the most essential doctrines and duties of religion, in order that they might be read in the churches throughout England. They, also, endeavoured to supply the people with such other books, as might help to an understanding of the scriptures; besides, they selected the most eminent preachers, and sent them to take the tour of the country. These preachers accompanied the visitors, who, after the example of those sent by Henry, traversed the dioceses, with injunctions to be obeyed, and articles to be observed.

All these measures were necessary; for the majority of the people regarded the priests as having power to save their souls by some secret trick or charm—such as that to which mountebanks pretend, in attempting to cure

diseases, and they appeared to think that no more was requisite, than to leave themselves in the hands of the clergy. Some were Antinomians. Therefore, the homilies aimed at both these errors, ascribing salvation wholly to Christ, and inculcating the absolute necessity of a holy life.

As a help to expounding the New Testament, Erasmus's paraphrase was translated, and an order was given that every parish church should possess a copy of it, along with the Bible.

Among the articles and injunctions sent out, were the following, viz.: That the curates should take down such of the images in the churches as they knew encouraged abuses, by being the object of pilgrimages or offerings. That, in the confessions during Lent, they should examine the people, and ascertain whether they could recite the elements of religion in the English language. That, at high mass, they should read the epistle and gospel in English; and, every Sunday and holy day, should read, at matins, one chapter out of the New Testament, and at even-song, another out of the Old, in English. That the curates should often visit the sick, and com-

fort them with passages of scripture in English. That there should be no more processions about churches. That the litany, formerly said in the processions, should be said in the quire in English. That holy days should be spent in offices of devotion, and not in riot and idleness. That none should commune, who were at enmity with their neighbours. That the people should be taught not to despise any ceremonies yet remaining; but to beware of the superstition of sprinkling their beds with holy water, or the ringing of bells, or using blessed candles, to drive away devils. That all monuments of idolatry should be removed out of the walls and windows of churches. That there should be a pulpit in every church for preaching. That there should be a chest, with a hole in it, for receiving the alms of the people; and that they should be exhorted to give to the poor the money they formerly spent upon pilgrimages, decking of images, &c. That the homilies should be read. That prayer should be offered for the governors. That souls departed should be prayed for thus, viz.: That, at the last day, we, with them, may rest both body and soul, &c. &c. These to be observed, on

pain of excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation. The bishops were to see them put in execution, and were themselves to preach four times in a year. Moreover, it was ordained that their chaplains should be able to preach God's word, and be made to labour often in it; and that orders should be given to none but such as would faithfully labour; and that, if any neglected so to do, they should be punished, and their licenses recalled.

Bonner objected to the injunctions; though he afterwards consented. He was sent, for some time, to the Fleet prison. Gardiner, also, objected, declaring both the injunctions and the homilies contrary to the word of God. However, his temper, on this occasion, was more like that of a Christian, and a bishop, than at any other time. He professed a readiness to give up the world, &c. The council sent him also to the Fleet.

Some thought justification was explained with too much nicety in the homilies, and that the people, to whom they were to be read, would not be profited; but Cranmer contended, that the explanation was necessary, in consequence of the erroneous impression, very ge-

nerally existing, that men could buy Heaven with their charities.

The reformation had a powerful enemy in Mary, the sister of Edward. She was a kind of rallying point to the papists, and she insisted that the council ought to leave all things as they were, until the king became of age. They answered, by informing her, that Henry himself intended carrying on the reformation, and regretted very much that he must die before it was finished; declaring, at the same time, that she ought not “to esteem true religion, and the knowledge of the scriptures, new-fangledness or fantasie.” Moreover, she was desired to turn the leaf, and look on the other side, and, with the assistance of an humble spirit, and the grace of God, to consider the matter better.

The parliament, which sat in November, 1547, repealed all the severe laws on the subject of religion, especially those concerning Lollardies, and the act of the six articles.

Cranmer exhorted the clergy, in convocation, to give themselves much to the study of the scriptures, and to consider seriously what things were in the church that needed refor-

mation, in order that all the popish trash, yet remaining, might be cast out.

It was ordained, that the sacraments should be administered in both kingdoms, according to the primitive custom, and that, the priest should not commune alone, as had become the practice. Moreover, that, the day before every sacrament, the priest should exhort the communicants to prepare themselves for it. Giving the people the bread only, had grown out of the doctrine of transubstantiation, according to which, Christ was in every crumb of bread, and, of course, those who ate the bread, had the blood with the flesh, and needed not the wine.

All private masses were put down. These had become very profitable to the priests, being offered for rain, for health, and all other blessings, as well as for the dead.

The mode of choosing bishops was changed from Conge d'Elire, to appointments by king's letters patent:—after which they were to be consecrated.

In primitive days, bishops were chosen, and ordained, by other bishops, as Timothy and Titus by Paul. Afterwards, when the church was established under the emperors, the people

voted by multitudes in the election of bishops. This being found a great inconvenience, from the tumults that occasionally took place, the inferior clergy chose their bishops; but, generally, the bishops of the province made the choice, yet in such manner, as to obtain the consent of the clergy and people, and subject to the will of the emperor. This dependence on the temporal prince, the pope destroyed, ordaining that the canons, secular and regular, should choose their bishops, and that this choice should be confirmed at Rome. King Henry had continued the mode of election by the clergy, only putting himself in the place of the pope, to confirm or annul; but now it was thought more ingenuous for the king to nominate the bishops directly, than under the thin covert of an involuntary election.

Ecclesiastical courts, too, were appointed to be held in the king's name. These had charge of wills and marriages. But the collation of benefices, and giving of orders, which were, in fact, the chief part of the episcopal function, were still to be performed by the bishops in their own names.

It was resolved, that a numerous body of bishops, and other divines, should sit at

Windsor, to revise the church service. It was also decided that the clergy might marry.

In Germany, the emperor gained great advantages. The duke of Saxe retired to his Bible, and the bishop of Colen to a peaceful home: both left him the field. In a diet at Augsburg, a decree was passed, submitting religion wholly to his care. But he strove in vain to induce the council of Trent, then sitting, to reform abuses. One object he wished to attain was, raising the authority of the bishops to its primitive height, from which it had been depressed in order the more readily to exalt the pope; but he laboured against the wind. The council determined to get rid of his importunities, and removed its sitting to Bologna, a town in the pope's dominions.

One of the German reformers, Peter Martyr, formerly an Augustinian monk, sought refuge in England.

On the 4th of January, 1548, Gardiner was brought before the council; he promised to conform himself, except so far as respected the homily on justification. Of this he desired four or five days to consider. What his final answer was, does not appear; but he was allowed to go to his diocese, where he mani-

fested, in all his behaviour, great malignity toward Cranmer, and the reformation. Yet he made such outward compliance, that no charge could be found against him.

There was much contradiction in the sermons throughout England; for, whereas some were for retaining the old rites, others were for abolishing them altogether, so that, by this diversity of teaching, the hearers were distracted. The country people generally loved the shows, processions, and assemblies, as things of diversion, and thought it a dull business, to go to church for nothing but divine worship and the hearing of sermons: others regarded those fooleries as contrary to the gravity and simplicity of the Christian religion, and too much like heathen plays and idolatrous festivities.

At length, Cranmer procured an order, abolishing the carrying of candles on Candlemas day, of ashes on Ash Wednesday, and of palms on Palm Sunday—creeping to the cross on Good Friday, and taking holy bread and water. At the same time, all were forbidden to make innovations in the established ceremonies, without authority; and, to prevent

the evil occasioned by rash men, it was appointed that none should preach without license.

By this restraint upon preaching, there was no intention “to extinguish the lively preaching of the pure word of God, made after such sort as the **Holy Ghost** should, for the time, put in the preacher’s mind.” The most discreet men were selected, and they were charged to preach sincerely, and with such caution and moderation, as the time and place should require; not to excite the people to make innovations, or to run before those whom they should obey; but to persuade them to amend their lives, and keep the commandments of God, and forsake their old superstitions. Moreover, in delivering things to the people, they were to have a special regard to what could be borne.

Considerable heat having been excited by the question, as to which the images were that had been abused, on the 11th February, 1548, an order was passed, removing all images. It was also ordered, that all rich shrines, with the plate belonging to them, should be brought to the king’s treasury; and that the clothes

which covered them should be converted to the use of the poor. This caused great affliction to Gardiner, and his party; but they all submitted, so that the churches were emptied of those pictures and statues, which had been for ages the chief object of the people's worship.

## CHAPTER VI.

Progress of the liturgy—Romish indulgencies—Cranmer's catechism—Primitive liturgies—Romish abuse of a liturgy—Romish rites abolished—Practices in the Primitive church—Germany—Calvin's letter to the Protector—The liturgy established—Gloria in excelsis—Fasting.

It is pleasing to pause amidst these contemplations, and let the mind wander forward to that rest, where all who name the name of Christ shall depart from iniquity; where all earthly motives shall be destroyed, all error shall be cast out, and every individual, soul and body, shall be thoroughly reformed.

Every man has an empire in his own breast, and at the head of that empire is a pope, with all his train of foolish observances, and tempting indulgencies—with all his power of putting darkness for light and light for darkness—with all his pride—with even his arrogating the place of God. That pope is self. He must be dethroned, and the humility, and the constancy, and the prayer, of a Cranmer, en-

gaged in carrying on the work of purification, and the elements of primitive excellence must be sought for, and, according to them, the soul must be new modelled, and every faculty, and every power, must be raised from the grave of sin, and made to rejoice in the life of righteousness.

The selected bishops and divines engaged in examining and reforming the offices of the church. The sacrament of the eucharist was brought back from a mass to a communion; the multiplied bowings, crossings, and other superstitious ceremonies, being abolished. A general confession was substituted for auricular. This was imperiously demanded; for the priests fostered the belief in the multitude, that they had power to forgive sins—declaring, in their form of absolution, “I absolve thee,” instead of praying, or assuring that God would absolve on repentance and faith.

Such was the corruption of the papacy, that a regular price current of indulgencies existed; so that a person, on paying a known sum, was privileged to commit whatever iniquities he chose.

But, though these abominations were so

glaring, the friends of the Vatican laboured strenuously against their abolition. Gardiner proceeded even to sedition. He armed his servants, insulted those whom the council sent into his diocese, &c. He was sent to the Tower.

Cranmer compiled a catechism. In this he asserted the two sacraments, and supposed a third: he owned the divine institution of bishops and priests; expressed a desire for the restoration of the ancient canons of public penance, &c. &c. In his epistle, dedicating it to the king, he complained of the great neglect of catechising; also, that the rite of confirmation had been improperly administered. Concerning the latter, he declared, that it should be given to none but those who were of age, “understood the principles of Christian doctrine, and did, upon knowledge, and with sincere minds, renew their baptismal vow.”

These preliminaries prepared the way for the reformation of the whole service.

“In the primitive church, after the extraordinary gifts ceased, the bishops of the several churches put their offices and prayers into such method, as was nearest to what they

had heard as remembered from the apostles. And these liturgies were called by the apostles' names from whose forms they were composed; as that of Jerusalem carried the name of St. James," &c. "The council of Laodicea appointed the same office to be used in the mornings and evenings. The bishops continued to draw up new additions, and to put old forms into other methods. This was left to every bishop's care, until, in the days of St. Austin, it was found the heretics took advantage from some of the prayers used in some of the churches; upon this, he tells us, it was ordered that there should be no prayers used in the church, but upon common advice —after that, the liturgies came to be more carefully considered." At first, all was plain and simple; but, at length, the church of Rome began to make one addition after another, employing its fancy to find out mystical significations of every rite, and adding ceremonies thereupon, until the offices were swelled out of measure, and there were missals, and breviaries, and rituals, and pontificals, and partoises, and pies, and graduals, and antiphonals, and psalteries, and hours, and a great many more. All these it was determined

to examine, and, whatever was rubbish, to cast out.

The reformers thought that praying with warm affection, and sincere devotion, was spiritual worship; therefore, they never agitated the question, whether they should have a liturgy or not; their only inquiry was, how shall we best bring our liturgy back to the primitive standard. They resolved to change nothing for novelty's sake merely, or because it had been used by popery, but to retain all that the primitive church had practised; like skilful vine-dressers, applying the knife only to the useless branches, engrafted by later ages.

Retaining forms of prayer, and translating the liturgy into the vulgar tongue, they threw away the blessing of water, and salt, and bread, reputed charms against diseases and the devil; together with holy incense, holy ashes, and the whole multitude of heathen symbols, with which the church of Rome was defiled.

Some of the garments worn by the priests were retained, because it was thought they were decent in themselves; those who waited upon the Lord under the Mosaic dispensation

having been thus clothed; white being the emblem of purity, &c. Moreover, it was supposed, that the Romish clergy having used them, was not a sufficient cause for throwing them aside.

It was ordered, that, in the eucharist, water should be mingled with wine, and the bread should be unleavened; and that, on all holy days, when there was no administration, the whole office of the communion, except the consecrating prayer, should be used, to remind the people of the sufferings of Christ, as well as of the sacrament.

In the primitive church, portions of the bread and wine were sent by boys or other laics to those who were sick or in prison. The church of Rome, on the other hand, carried about the sacrament with great pomp and adoration. Between these two, the reformers steered a middle course. Though they preferred having them in the churches, they allowed both the sacraments to be administered in private, when necessary. They consecrated and administered the eucharist in the room of the sick person, that they might avoid both the pomp of vain processions, and the indecency of sending the sacrament by

common hands. Besides, they remembered the saying of Christ—Where two or three are met together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.

While these changes were in progress, much disturbance arose, pulpit being arrayed against pulpit, on account of them; insomuch, that a proclamation is said to have issued, suspending all preaching until the “uniform order” in preparation, was published; and declaring, that, in the mean time, the people could be well employed in prayer and hearing the homilies.

In Germany, the emperor, despairing of procuring a translation of the council, caused a form of religion to be drawn up, which he called the Interim, intending it to continue as the standard, until a council could be called in his dominions. This was received by the diet, but it was disliked by both protestants and papists. Martin Bucer called it down-right popery; and the Romans said it was great usurpation in the emperor to meddle with points of religion. But he determined to carry it through; and, the breach between him and the pope became so great, that many of the wiser papists began to fear Germany

would follow England. But the Germans refused to agree to the Interim; especially the protestants; some of them declaring that they would not resist the emperor—their gates should remain open, and he might come and destroy them; but they could not receive the Interim under pain of eternal damnation. The duke of Saxe, who was his prisoner, refused to receive it, though tempted by great offers. He told those who kept him, his person was in their power, but his conscience in his own; and he should, on no account, depart from the Augsбург confession. Among the Lutheran divines, there were great disputes on the subject of compliance. Melancthon thought, as the ceremonies of popery were, in their own nature, indifferent, they might be used. Others were of opinion, that receiving the ceremonies of Rome would make way for all her errors; and that they ceased to be indifferent, when enjoined as necessary to salvation. But, the emperor proceeding resolutely, many divines were driven away; some sought concealment; many fled to Switzerland, and some to England.

Beginning to despair of the reformation in Germany, and hearing of the proceedings in

England, Calvin wrote to the protector, Oct. 29th, 1548, exhorting him to go on as Hezekiah had done in his reformation. He lamented the heat of some that professed the gospel, and complained that he heard there were few lively sermons in England; and, that the preachers recited their discourses coldly. He greatly approved a set form of prayers, "whereby the consent of all the churches did more manifestly appear;" but he advised to leave out the prayers for the dead, the use of chrism, and extreme unction, which were still retained.

Bucer also wrote, congratulating the reformers, and answering a book which Gardiner had written against him.

The parliament which sat in November, passed a law allowing the marriage of priests, and another confirming the liturgy, and ordering it to be used. The use of other psalms or prayers, was allowed, on condition that those in the book were not omitted. This proviso was specially intended for the version of the psalms, then much sung by all who loved the reformation; and, in many places, used in churches.

The gloria in excelsis, used after the sacrament, and the celebrated Te Deum, prepared by bishop Ambrose in an early age, had, with other good things, been abused by the papists; but the reformers now restored them to their primitive use.

In 1549, the commons sent a petition to the protector to restore Latimer to the bishopric of Worcester; but that good old man, being very ancient, preferred going about and preaching, to engaging in affairs of government.

Fasting, which had been practised from the first age of Christianity, was much abused by the Romans; for, whereas the primitive disciples made it a means of subduing the flesh to the spirit, they used it rather as an excuse for greater indulgence. Dining on fast days, feasting on the most delicious fish dressed in the most exquisite manner, and drinking the richest wines, they differed very much from the early Christians, who abstained entirely, and supported nature by nothing but the most common roots and herbs.

The reformers retained fasting, but abolished its abuse. Fridays, Saturdays, Emberdays, Lent, and such other seasons as should

be specially announced, were declared fish days. Occasional abstinence, or fasting, with prayer and true devotion, was considered as one of the greatest aids in attaining a spiritual temper and a holy life.

## CHAPTER VII.

Great attachment to the reformation expressed—Complaints against the Priests—Real presence discussed—Anabaptists—Joan of Kent—Infant baptism—Predestination—Rebellion.

"PETER was a fool! Peter was a fool!" Such, as story tells, was the sermon of a priest at Rome, who had been observing the luxury and state of the pope and his cardinals, and contrasting with them the poverty and suffering of the apostle. I am not prepared to adopt this language; but, it appears very evident, that, if Peter were to rise from his tomb, and behold the monstrous abominations sheltered under his name, he would say—surely the world has remembered my fall, but forgotten my repentance.

A corrupted church is like a field overrun with tares, and thorns, and ivy, interweaving their rank luxuriance, and mocking the hopes of the husbandman.—*The cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches, and the lusts of*

*other things, easily choke the word,* and render it unfruitful. He has no pleasant business who attempts the task of rooting out the rubbish. Multitudes of weeds may be thrown over the fence, and yet many remain. Besides, a blow aimed at a noxious shoot may destroy the springing grain. Of this the English reformers appear to have been fully aware. Theirs was no rash headlong temper, but a calm, studious, prayerful spirit, accompanied by meekness, and directed by love.

Both clergy and laity expressed, in strong terms, their attachment to the reformation and to the king. The clergy granted a subsidy of six shillings in the pound to be paid in three years, and acknowledged the great quietness they enjoyed, having no let or impediment in the service of God;—the laity were more full in their preamble, declaring they were ready to forsake all, rather than the true religion of Christ.

Complaints were entered against some of the priests, that they read the prayers in the same tone of voice which they had formerly used with the Latin service, so that the people did not understand them; whereupon, it was directed, that, in all parish churches, the ser-

vice should be read in a plain, audible manner, but that the ancient tone should remain in the cathedrals, where there were great choirs well acquainted with it, and where it agreed better with the music used in the anthems. But, even there, it was thought not appropriate to the litany; and, a determination was entered into, that, as the old readers dropped off, those should be put in their places, who would officiate in a plain voice.

Other abuses remained of more importance, such as, using some of the old ceremonies at the communion, and saying beads, ten aves for one pater-noster,—praying ten times to the Virgin Mary for once to God. These were forbidden. The priests continued secretly to use soul-masses many in a day, procuring one person to commune with them at each time, to avoid the censure of the law; to prevent this, it was ordered, that there should be but one communion a day in any church, except on Christmas and Easter, when, greater numbers attending, two were allowed. In the days of popery, markets had been held, and bargains made in the church-yards; these were forbidden, especially in the time of ser-

vice and sermon. The curates were instructed to declare the catechism every sixth week, as well as preach. Moreover, directions were sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to have no mass in St. Paul's, as the example would corrupt the whole kingdom. He had resolved to comply in every thing, and obeyed.

Every where the new book of service was received, except by lady Mary. Mass was celebrated in her house, and she requested the emperor to interpose in her behalf, that she might not be forced to any thing against her conscience. She expostulated with the council; but they required her to conform, and not "encourage peevish and obstinate persons by her stiffness."

The manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament was discussed in public disputations at Oxford and Cambridge, and the decision was against the corporal presence.

Ridley, who bore a considerable share in these discussions, received his first information on the subject, from a work written by Bertram. Surprised to find one of the most esteemed men of the 9th century controverting transubstantiation, he began to conclude

that it could not be one of the ancient doctrines of the church.\* He communicated his doubts to Cranmer, and they engaged in examining it with more than ordinary care. The result was their casting off the doctrine.

The arguments that convinced them were such as these:—Christ could no more have meant to be understood literally, when he said, *This is my body*, than Moses, when he called the paschal lamb the Lord's passover. After they were blessed, Paul had called the elements, *That bread* and *that cup*. The saying, *This is my body*, was figurative, like the expression, *Put on Christ*; and, *Ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire*. Christ is glorified; therefore, he can no more suffer, as this doctrine would represent. Very many other arguments operated on their minds.

Moreover, they found the fathers against the doctrine; as Gelasius, an ancient bishop of Rome, who, in arguing with the Eutychians, asserted, in plain words, that the substance of the bread and wine remained as it was formerly, in its own nature and form;

\* See note II. of the Appendix.

also Theodoret, Chrysostom, and indeed the whole cloud of early witnesses. Transubstantiation was born in the dark ages, when the people were ready to receive any thing that would advance the dignity of the priests. The first belief was, that the whole loaf was turned into one body of Christ; so that, in the distribution, one had an eye, another a finger, &c.; and this phantasm was supported by pretended miracles; as, that the host bled on being broken, &c. &c. This gave way to a notion that Christ was entire in every crumb and drop; and, it was said, he appeared upon the host, sometimes as a child with rays, sometimes with angels about him. Alas, for the credulity of superstition!

A sect of anabaptists sprung up in Germany, who were guilty of the greatest enormities. Pretending to be reformers, they discarded the most essential doctrines of the gospel, calling the Trinity, the incarnation, the fall, and the aids of grace, philosophical subtleties, not deducible from scripture. They also rejected infant baptism. Many of these made their appearance in England. Complaints were presented to the council against

them, and directions issued to excommunicate and deliver them to the secular power.

Several London tradesmen were brought before the commissioners. They abjured their errors, among which were, that a man who had been regenerated could not sin; that, though the outward man sinned, the inward man continued holy; and, that Christ was no more than a prophet.

Joan of Kent, an anabaptist, refused to recant. Much pains were taken with her, and many conferences held; but, "she was so extravagantly conceited of her own notions, that she rejected all they said with scorn; whereupon she was adjudged an obstinate heretic, and left to the secular power." The council moved the king to sign a warrant for burning her; this he refused, saying, it was a cruelty too much like that condemned in the papists, to burn any for conscience sake. Cranmer was employed to persuade him. [Alas, poor human nature!] He argued from the law of Moses, which commanded the blasphemer to be stoned; stating, that her impieties were so great, the prince, as God's deputy, ought to punish them. Edward was not satisfied; but, with tears in his eyes, he set his hand to the

warrant, saying, that if he did wrong, it was in submission to the archbishop's authority, and he should answer for it to God. This struck Cranmer with horror, and he was very unwilling to have the sentence executed. In order to save her, Ridley and himself took the woman in custody to their houses, and exerted all their powers of persuasion; but in vain. She treated them in the most contemptuous manner, with jeers and insolence; and finally was executed. Her indecencies ceased only with her life.

Two years afterward, another was burnt. Popery had so long accustomed the world to the rage of persecution, that even the reformers appear not to have understood the principles of toleration. But the errors of these persons threatened the state more than the church.

There was a class of anabaptists who were not so dangerous. They only denied infant baptism. Against these no severities were used. Books were written, showing they were wrong, and arguments inculcated, such as the following, viz:—The saying of Christ, “Suffer little children to come unto me,” appears to declare them proper subjects of

baptism; for if they are fit for the kingdom of Heaven—the greater, certainly they are fit for baptism—the less. Paul calls the children of believing parents holy; and, in so doing, appears to describe such a consecration of them as is made in baptism. All the Christians in existence at the present time have been baptized in their infancy, even the leaders of the anabaptist sect; so that, according to their views, no persons living have a right to baptize, for none have been properly baptized themselves. The uninterrupted practice of the church for fifteen hundred years is, in itself, a strong confirmation of infant baptism.

The doctrine of predestination was much abused. The reformers, generally, had taught it, and many made strange inferences, saying, that since every thing was decreed, and no decree could be frustrated, all should leave themselves to be carried on by the current of the decrees without making any exertion. The consequence of this was, that some fell into great impiety, and others into desperation. The Germans had much discussion on the subject. Melancthon wrote against it; Calvin and Bucer maintained it, only they

warned the people not to endeavour to pry into it, since it was a secret none could penetrate. Hooper, and many other good writers, often exhorted the people not to enter into "these curiosities;" and a caveat to the same purpose was afterwards incorporated in the article of the church about predestination.

Considerable tumults arose in consequence of the enclosing of lands for pasturage. These lands formerly belonged to the monasteries, and they were rented among tenants; but now, their owners converting them to sheep grounds, the tenants, who were numerous, were thrown out of employ. Besides, they had more time, in consequence of so many holy days and processions being abrogated, and they knew not what to do with themselves. Their risings were numerous; but the protector, who was the friend of the commons, succeeded in quelling them. However, there was an insurrection in Devonshire of fearful strength. That county was generally inclined to the old superstitions, and the popish priests made it their rendezvous. The rebels demanded the ancient ceremonies, as the mass in Latin, holy bread, holy water, palms, images, and many other things; one of which

was, that the Bible should be called in:—this they required for a notable reason, viz. that while the heretics had the Bible the clergy could not easily confound them. Cranmer answered these demands by suitable arguments, showing their folly. They were reduced, and presented again, and again rejected. The priests used every artifice calculated to inflame the enraged multitude, carrying about the host in a cart to the view of all. While this mob was in motion, another rising took place in Norfolk. Those engaged in this, pretended their only objects were to destroy the gentry and put new counsellors about the king. Their number increased to twenty thousand, without order or discipline. Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, went among them and preached very faithfully, charging home upon them their ill lives, their rebellion, and their daily robberies; but he narrowly escaped death. A third insurrection broke out in Yorkshire, so that the government was in great distress.

A fast was proclaimed in and about London, and Cranmer preached, expostulating severely with his hearers, in the name of God, for their blasphemies, adulteries, mutual ha-

tred, and contempt of the gospel, attributing to them, in a degree, the present judgments, “It was a plain, faithful, inartificial discourse.”

The rebels were defeated by lord Russel and the earl of Warwick: a few were executed, and the rest pardoned.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Ridley's honesty—Bonner—Protector sent to the Tower—Form of ordination—Ridley consecrated bishop of London—Latimer's faithfulness—Hooper's objection to the episcopal vestments—Bucer's opinion about them—The liturgy reviewed—Bucer's advice—His advice to the king about rural bishops, &c.—Ridley's visitation—Germany—The Interim—Popish clergy dissemble—Cranmer's tenderness—Death of Bucer—Degradation of Gardiner.

TIMES of trial create a kindly feeling among all who are surrounded by the same cloud of affliction, and tie, in the knot of concord, hearts that, by nature, seem to be separated. They annihilate the distinctions of clime, and colour, and kindred; and throw into one temple of union, the learned and the ignorant, the rich and the poor, the high and the low—all the discordant opposites of which society is capable.

The mind, at such seasons, has no leisure to brood over trifles, or nurse prejudices. It

gives the whole grasp of its attention to things of greatest moment; and is not warped to the denial of evidence, by a fear of the destruction of theories. The voice of truth is heard with distinctness; all its accents are allowed their full weight; and no deceiving echoes are sought for to lessen its effect.

Hence, we see the reformers of the island and the continent, of Germany, Geneva, and Britain, forming one council of advice, and bringing their wedded energies to bear on the improvement and prosperity of the church of England;—Cranmer, and Calvin, and Luther, approaching nearer in their views of many principles, than some of their followers have been willing to acknowledge.

Ridley, with others, was sent, by the protector, to Cambridge, to superintend the conversion of several fellowships, appointed for the encouragement of the study of divinity, to the use of students of civil law. This act his conscience opposed; and he wrote to the protector as became a Christian bishop, with respect, but firmness; saying, “I shall daily pray to God to stay and strengthen my frailty with holy fear, that I do not commit the thing for favour or fear of any mortal man, whereby my

conscience may threaten me with the loss of the favour of the living God." He thought the church sufficiently robbed and stripped already; and he resolved to assist in retaining all that was necessary for her support.

Bonner was charged with being remiss in attending to the new service, neglecting to punish adultery in his diocese, &c. Sundry injunctions were given him; and, among other duties, he was commanded to preach against rebellion; to declare that true religion did not consist in mere ceremonies; that the magistrates should be obeyed; and, that the king, though in minority, should be fully acknowledged. He was appointed to preach on these subjects. He discharged his office so lamely, wholly passing over some of them, and touching lightly upon others, and, moreover, he inveighed in such manner against the reformation, rather exciting dissention than discouraging it, that the council summoned him before commissioners to answer for his conduct. His behaviour on his trial, was more like that of a madman than a bishop. His insolence was extreme. He called hard names, gave the lie, and broke out into a fury. He was deprived of his bishopric, and sent to prison.

The reason given in his sentence, was, his having refused to declare the king's power. He was, indeed, a cruel and fierce man. While in prison, by an odd sort of benediction, he consigned those who would not furnish him with puddings and pears “to the devil, to the devil, and to all the devils.”

A powerful party, formed against the protector, gained the ascendancy. He was deserted by the whole council, accused, and sent to the Tower. This event delighted the papists; they hoped that with him the reformation would fall; but they soon discovered their mistake; for, so zealous was the king in his attachment to it, that, to be its promoter, was a sure passport to his affections.

Parliament appointed a commission to revise the ecclesiastical laws, in order that vice might be more certainly punished.

Reports having circulated that the old book of service was about to be re-established, the council wrote to all the bishops in England, reiterating the injunction to observe the new liturgy, and requiring, that all missals, manuals, legends, and other popish books of service, should be given up; all images in the hands of private persons destroyed; and, more-

over, that, every where, bread and wine should be provided for the communion on Sunday.

Heath, bishop of Worcester, one of twelve who had been appointed to prepare a new book of ordination, refused to consent to the reformation proposed, and was committed to the Fleet. He was one of those who submitted to the new order of things merely to keep his benefice, and who opposed at every step the whole progress of reformation. The council resolved to get rid of those time-servers who wanted only a convenient opportunity to return to popery.

Those who were engaged in drawing up the form of ordination, found, on examining, that scripture required nothing besides imposition of hands and prayer; and that no more was recognised, by either the apostolical constitutions, or the primitive church; therefore, they rejected the vain novelties introduced by later ages, such as anointing, giving of consecrated vestments, and vessels for consecrating the eucharist; and agreed upon a mode of ordaining bishops, priests, and deacons, similar to that now used by the church. They introduced the solemn questions and vows—solemn as the grave!—for instance, that

searching interrogative, “Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost, to take upon you this office and ministration, to serve God, for the promoting his glory, and for the edifying of his people?” Also, that weighty warning—“to teach the people committed to their charge, to banish and drive away all erroneous doctrines, and to use both public and private monitions and exhortations, as well to the sick as the whole, within their cures.” Who is sufficient for these things? *I can do all things through Christ strengthening me*, said one of old.

On the 21st February, 1550, Ridley, being esteemed the most learned, and most thoroughly zealous for the reformation, was consecrated bishop of London and Westminster.

Sundry articles were this year presented to Gardiner, who was still in prison, and, he refusing to sign them, the fruits of his bishopric were sequestered, and his confinement made more close.

Some fears were entertained that the king would marry a daughter of the king of France, who was a papist. Latimer, in a sermon preached before him in Lent, exhorted him to marry only in the Lord, and to provide that

no marriages should be mere bargains, for such were a fruitful cause of whoredoms and divorces. At the same time, he lamented the vices of the times, the vanity of women, the luxury and irregularity of men, and pressed the importance of enforcing discipline even to excommunication. He said many were gospellers for the love of the abbey or chantry lands. He cautioned the king against seeking pleasure too much, or keeping those about him who would promote it. He said he was old, it was probably the last time he should appear there, and he discharged his conscience freely. He complained that the king's debts were not paid, and that yet his officers lived high, made great purchases, and built palaces. He prayed all to be good to the king, and not to defraud the poor tradesmen who wrought for his stores.

Hooper was appointed bishop of Gloucester. He declined being consecrated in the episcopal vestments; saying, they were human inventions, not suited to the simplicity of the Christian religion, and among the beggarly elements condemned by Paul; moreover, that they had been abused by the papists. Cranmer and Ridley alleged, that, though tradition

was rejected in matters of faith, it was good counsel concerning rites and ceremonies; and that, when Paul spoke of beggarly elements, he referred to the abrogated Mosaic institutions; which, nevertheless, he observed, in some degree, out of respect to Jewish prejudices. Moreover, if the vestments were to be laid aside, because they had been abused by the papists, with equal propriety might the churches, and even the Bible itself, be abandoned; for all had been abused in the same manner.

But Cranmer was not contented with his own judgment, and that of his colleagues merely. He was a modest man, distrustful of himself, and disposed to pay all proper respect to the pious wisdom of others. He wrote to Bucer, the friend of Calvin, for his opinion. Bucer answered, that he thought the garments might be safely worn in obedience to the law of the land, though not in obedience to the law of Moses; that every creature of God was good, and no abuse could make it evil; that, as those vestments had been worn by the ancient fathers, previous to the days of popery, and might still be useful, by reminding the people of the purity that became them, and

as, moreover, they would manifest that the church did not change old customs out of mere lightness, it was best to retain them. He considered those persons as sinning, who refused to obey the laws of the land on this subject. But, he added, that, as the garments were abused by some to superstition, and by others to contention, he wished they were laid aside.

He wrote also to Hooper, answering his objections. Peter Martyr did the same: he says, "His (Hooper's) business is now at that pass, that the best and most pious disprove of it."

Hooper was consecrated August 4, 1550; but his stiffness about the vestments was disapproved of by all the reformers.

A congregation of Germans, under John A. Lasco, having fled from home on account of a persecution raised concerning the Interim, was allowed to hold its assemblies at St. Austin's, in London. Three hundred and eighty of these refugees became denizens of England.

About the end of 1550, there was a review of the book of Common Prayer. Martin Bucer was consulted on this subject also; and

Aleffe, a Scotch divine, translated the work into Latin for his use.

He gave as his opinion, that all things in the common service and daily prayers, were clearly according to the scriptures: but advised some changes, such as exercising discipline toward communicants; omitting the half service used at the altar when there was no communion; also, the prayers for departed souls; the chrism in baptism, &c. He complained that baptism was administered too frequently in private houses. Moreover, he recommended that there should be catechising every holy day; that none should be confirmed who did not really desire to renew their baptismal vow; that catechising should be continued after confirmation, &c. Almost all the things to which he objected, were altered.

Bucer sent the king, as a new year's gift, a book written for his use, "concerning the kingdom of Christ." In this, divers laws were proposed for Edward's consideration, on the subject of catechising; of releasing bishops from secular cares, and furnishing them with councils of presbyters; of placing rural bishops over twenty or thirty parishes, and admonish-

ing them to call their clergy together often, and inspect them closely. On receiving this volume, the young king wrote several discourses on the subject of reforming the kingdom; these displayed great probity of mind, and much talent.

Bishop Ridley made a visitation of his diocese, propounding sundry queries, such as, whether any opposed the Bible or the prayer book; whether there were any private masses or anabaptist conventicles; whether the curates visited the sick, and expounded the catechism. Among other things, he ordered that the altar, as used by the papists, should be converted into a table for the communion, because an altar gave the idea of sacrifice, which the Lord's supper was not.

Certain week-day sermons or lectures, which were good and proper in themselves, but thought, for some reason, to have an evil tendency, were forbidden, and directions issued that prayers alone should be used.

The scales were still suspended in Germany, neither cause having gained the ascendancy. The tripartite discord continued, and papists, imperialists, and protestants, were hopeful of success. The emperor procured the

removal of the council back to Trent; but he could neither get the protestant princes to submit to its decrees, nor the people to receive the Interim. He, however, threw the command of his army into the hands of Maurice of Saxe, a friend of the reformation.

In England, the popish clergy were remarkable for their compliance in every thing. They dissembled their opposition to the greatest extent, except when they could act secretly. The principle that governed them was, to oppose alterations, but to obey them when made. This Gardiner openly professed, and all the rest practised; and thus did they prevaricate with both God and man. But Cranmer was always gentle and moderate. He left their private consciences to God, and thought that, if they gave an external obedience, the people would follow them; whereas, if they were treated with severity, opposition would be roused. He was naturally a man of "bowels and compassion," and did not love to drive things to extremities. He considered that men, who had grown old in errors, could not easily lay them down, and were to be reclaimed by degrees. In the proceedings against Gardiner and Bonner, he

was carried beyond his usual temper; but, he knew Gardiner to be so inveterate a papist and so deep a dissembler, that he was disposed to condemn him, more on account of his general character, than for the particular charges preferred against him. Bonner, too, had deceived him so much formerly, was so cruel a persecutor under the statute of the Six articles, and, withal, was so brutal and luxurious, that he felt it his duty to purge the church of him.

In February, 1551, Cranmer lost his friend Bucer. He died at Oxford, and was buried with the highest honours. He was one of the most learned of the reformers; and, for zeal, true piety, and a tender care in preserving unity among the foreign churches, he and Melancthon deserve to be ranked by themselves.

Gardiner was deprived of his bishopric on sundry charges, and continued in the Tower. Several new bishops were appointed, so that the sees were generally filled with men friendly to the reformation.

## CHAPTER IX.

Articles of religion—Prayer Book—Reasons for using the confession and absolution—The ten commandments—For kneeling at the sacrament—The lady Mary still a papist—Duke of Somerset beheaded—Germany—Council of Trent.

IT is no easy thing for human nature to retain its integrity, amid the solicitations of wealth and power. Man is so much a creature of sense, that the objects of faith are easily made indistinct, enveloped in clouds, and removed entirely from his view. A present comfort has greater charms than a future good—a temporal vanity, than an eternal crown. Hence, there are peculiar dangers attending an union between church and state. The views of the gospel, and the views of earthly governments, are too frequently antipodes; and it is by no means desirable that the ministers of Jesus should be brought into too entire confederacy with the officers of earthly power. The former had better pursue their quiet, prayerful, spiritual course,

remote from the policy, and plans, and bustle, of the latter. Even the new-born man has remains of depravity; and these remains are too prone to link him to the world, without being strengthened by connexion with the subtleties of politics, the vicissitudes of empire, and the glare of public parade.

The greater number of the bishops being attached to the reformation, a considerable part of 1551 was spent in preparing articles as a summary of the doctrines of the church of England. This had been deferred, because the clergy were not ready for it; and it was thought best to purify the worship first, inasmuch as that involved unlawful compliances, and even idolatry. The articles framed were similar to those now held by the church. Cranmer and Ridley are supposed first to have drawn them up, and then sent them about to others, for correction. By these, the errors of popery, of the anabaptists, and of the other German enthusiasts, were avoided, as also the niceties of the schoolmen, and the peremptoriness of the writers of controversy; and, while every essential doctrine of the gospel was fully asserted, whatever was doubtful, or comparatively unimportant, was left undefined—and

thus liberty given to all who were sound in the vitals of faith, to possess whatever opinions they chose about speculative points, so long as they did not disturb the peace of the church. Blessed spirit of charity! thus to weave a mantle which might embrace in its ample folds, all who would *hold the head*, whatever their diversity of sentiment about *things hard to be understood!*

In the ancient creeds, there was great simplicity; but, by degrees, additions were introduced, to meet the rising heresies; and, at last, the schoolmen spun out the declaration of their subtleties to an unprofitable length, procuring anathemas against all who differed from them. These the German writers followed too closely, becoming peremptory, and condemning, not only the Helvetian churches for differing from them about the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament, but, also, each other, for "lesser punctilios;" thus exercising greatly the patience of Melancthon. This caused the English reformers to resolve on composing their articles with great temper, especially those concerning disputed points.

The next business was, correcting the com-

mon prayer-book, with reference chiefly to the hints given by Bucer. It was determined to add to the daily service, a short, but simple, and most grave, confession of sins, in the use of which, the people were expected to make a sincere and hearty acknowledgment of all their iniquities, as well secret as open, unto God. To this was joined a general absolution, or pronouncing, in the name of God, the pardon of sin to all those who did truly repent and unfeignedly believe the gospel. It was thought, that, if the people seriously attended to these, they would cherish in their minds frequent reflections on their sins; and, moreover, that a general declaration of pardon, on condition of repentance and faith, was far preferable to the absolute and unqualified pardon which the priests were in the habit of giving in confession, by which the people were led to believe their sins were certainly forgiven; a delusion that lulled them in fatal security, and operated as a bounty to crime. Many were observed to come to the communion without due seriousness or preparation; whereupon, as a means of arousing the consciences of all, it was resolved to begin the office of administration with a solemn reading of the ten command-

ments, during which the congregation was to kneel, as if hearing the law anew; at the close of each commandment imploring mercy for past offences, and grace for the time to come. This was supposed calculated to excite remembrance of transgressions, and to prevent receiving the holy sacrament unworthily. Kneeling was considered the most appropriate posture in receiving the communion, and, therefore, continued; but, at the same time, it was declared that, that gesture was retained as the most reverent and humble way of expressing a sense of the mercies of God, vouchsafed through the death of Christ, and not as a sign of idolatrous adoration to the bread and wine. When the sacrament was first administered, it was no doubt in the table posture, lying along on one side. But the Jews appear to have changed the posture used in receiving the passover, from standing to lying; a change sanctioned by our Saviour; and, surely, it is equally correct to change the mode of receiving the eucharist from lying to kneeling, especially as the eucharist was instituted in the room of the passover; and as, moreover, kneeling is better suited to the idea of an exalted, as

lying was to that of a suffering Christ. Indeed, all denominations of Christians appear to be united in the opinion, that, they may safely change the posture, for all of them have discontinued that originally made use of, viz. lying along on one side.

Six eminent preachers were chosen the king's chaplains, of whom two were to be always at court, and four travelling through the country, instructing the people. These were intended to supply the defects of the clergy, the greater part of whom were "very faulty."

Much pains were taken to induce the lady Mary to desist from having mass in her house, but she continued intractable. Bishop Ridley was sent to her, but she refused to hear him preach. After an interview with her, he was asked to drink, which he did, but immediately regretted—saying, he ought not to have drunk in a place where God's word was rejected, but rather to have shaken the dust from his feet as a testimony. This he pronounced with great concern, and he left the house much troubled in mind. Elizabeth, on the other hand, was friendly to the reformation, and received all the changes cheerfully.

Through the power of his enemies, the duke of Somerset, uncle to Edward, was executed. He died like a Christian, rejoicing that religion was brought so near to the form and order of the primitive church. The duke of Northumberland was the chief cause of his fall. He was ambitious, and dreaded so great a rival.

In Germany, the council of Trent was progressing in the declaration of popish doctrines, though not without great difficulties. As to the eucharist, they declared that the manner of the presence could hardly be expressed, and yet they called transubstantiation a suitable term for it. "But this might be well enough defended, since that was a thing as hard to be either expressed or understood, as any thing they could have thought on." In a temporal point of view, the protestants gained ground upon the emperor.

Parliament ordained, January, 1552, that all men should attend divine service every Sunday and holy day, under pain of certain censures.

There was also an act passed concerning fasts and holy days. These, it was said, were established to afford greater opportunity of

retiring from worldly pursuits, and devoting the soul to the service of God. As to Saints' days, they were not dedicated to the Saints, but to God in remembrance of them.

The marriage of the clergy was more fully recognised, and, moreover, an act passed against usury, and another against simony, or abusing ecclesiastical livings, by reserving pensions out of benefices, or otherwise.

The duke of Northumberland, not satisfied with the blood of the protector, sought the destruction of Tonstal, bishop of Duresme, but could not succeed. Cranmer defended him, and, though he was sent to the Tower, he was not attainted. He was a complying popish bishop, but a man of so much candour and moderation, that Cranmer had a great friendship for him.

The articles of religion prepared during the last year were agreed to by the convocation; and thus was the reformation of doctrine and worship brought to its completion. No further change took place in them in the reign of Edward, and very little afterwards, except that some of the articles were put in more general terms in the days of Elizabeth.

## CHAPTER X.

Ecclesiastical laws—The Trinity, &c.—Heresies—Punishment of heretics and others—Against Simony—Examination of candidates for orders—Purgation—The poor—Church officers—Duty of bishops—Annual convocations—Excommunication—Receiving of penitents—Reformation of the clergy—Council of Trent—Dioceses divided—Mode of appointing bishops—Letters patent to teach the catechism—Sickness of Edward—His charities—His death—His character.

AFTER men of tried wisdom and approved integrity have departed this life, there is a pleasure in contemplating, not only their deeds, but their intentions: especially if those men were the chief actors in laying the foundation of a political edifice, or removing the excrescencies of an ecclesiastical polity. If, by any occurrence of circumstances, they were prevented from accomplishing all they desired, memorials of their wishes may serve to guide survivors in the path of improvement, or warn against errors left unreformed; although unalloyed truth can be found no where but in

the Bible, as imperfection must adhere to every thing human.

Cranmer and his colleagues had long been anxious for the completion of a body of ecclesiastical laws, for the general regulation of the church in its various departments. He had pressed this subject in the reign of Henry. Under the present king, thirty-two persons were appointed to attend to it; and, subsequently, eight others, to prepare the work for their review. Of these, Cranmer was one; and he is stated to have drawn up nearly the whole; thus proving himself the greatest canonist in England. These laws were arranged under fifty-one titles, and were finished in February, 1552. A commission was appointed to revise and correct them, that they might be presented to the king; but his death prevented their being established.

The first recognised the Trinity and the Catholic church. It provided that those who denied the Christian religion should suffer the loss of their goods, and death. It numbered the books of scripture, and declared the power of the church to be subject to the scriptures. The four general councils were acknowledged, but all councils were subjected to the test

of scripture. The writings of the fathers were received, so far as they agreed with scripture.

The second, enumerated heresies against the Trinity, Jesus Christ, and the scriptures; treated of original sin and justification; condemned the mass and purgatory; censured all who denied magistracy, or asserted the community of goods or of wives, or denied the pastoral office, or asserted that any might assume it at pleasure, or who thought the sacraments naked signs, or denied the baptism of infants, or thought none could possibly be saved who were not baptized; or who asserted transubstantiation, or denied the lawfulness of marriage, especially in the clergy, or excused their ill lives by pretence of predestination, as many wicked men did. From these and all other heresies, all were dissuaded.

The third provided, that obstinate heretics should be declared infamous, incapable of public trust, or giving testimony in any court; thus abolishing all capital proceedings for heresy.

The fourth provided, that blasphemy, flowing from hatred, or rage against God,

should be punished in the same manner as heresy.

The fifth was about baptism, the Lord's supper, retaining imposition of hands in ordination, celebrating marriages with solemnity, confirmation by bishops, and pastoral visits to the sick.

The sixth forbade witchcraft, idolatry, magic, and consulting with conjurers, under penalty of excommunication.

The seventh declared, that bishops should carefully examine all who presented themselves for license, and once a year gather together all the licensed preachers in their dioceses, making strict inquiry into the state of each flock—what vices abounded, and what remedies were necessary. Those who refused to hear sermons, or made disturbance in churches, were to be separated from the communion. It seems to have been designed that there should be evangelists in every diocese—preachers who should itinerate and be confined to no settled cure.

The eighth ordained, that banns should be published before marriage, that seducers should marry those they deceived or be excommunicated, or, if unable to marry, should give them

one-third of their goods, and endure other punishments. Marriages without the consent of parents were declared null. Mothers were required to suckle their children.

By the ninth, marriage within the levitical degrees, and those reciprocal to them, was forbidden.

The tenth was against adultery.

By the eleventh, patrons were directed not to abuse benefices to base or sacrilegious ends. Benefices were not to be given or promised before they were void, nor to lie destitute more than six months on pain of their devolving to the bishop. As the character of clergymen was one of the principal things on which the happiness of the church depended, all candidates were to be examined by the archdeacon, and such others as the bishop should appoint, and by the bishop himself. Moreover, they were to make oath that they would answer sincerely to the questions proposed.—The chief subjects of examination were the points of doctrine mentioned in the catechism; care was to be taken that they cherished no heretical opinions, and it was to be ascertained that they understood the scriptures. None were to be admitted to more cures than one:

all pluralities were forever to cease. None were to be absent from their cures except for a time, and on good excuse, deemed sufficient by the ordinary, who was to take great care that no absence was allowed for a longer time than necessary. All were to enter upon their cure within two months after being instituted. Prebendaries who had no particular charge were to preach in the churches adjacent to them. Bastards were not to be admitted to orders, unless they had eminent qualities.

The twelfth, and thirteenth, related to renouncing and changing benefices.

The fourteenth was concerning purgation upon common fame. If any scandal was alleged against a man, the bishop was empowered to make him swear that he was innocent, and produce four compurgators who should swear that they believed what he swore was true. All superstitious purgations, such as those born in the dark ages, were rejected.

The fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth, were about dilapidations of property belonging to churches and colleges, the collation of benefices, and purgations from simony.

By the nineteenth, it was directed that the

morning prayer should be used on holy days, with the communion service; that the sacrament should be administered at the cathedrals every Sunday; that there should be no sermons at the cathedrals in the morning, because they drew the people from their parish churches, though sermons were allowed in the afternoon; that there should be no figured music in the anthems; that, except in large parishes, there should be preaching in the parish church only in the morning; that all who wished to receive the sacrament, should come the day before and inform the minister, who was to examine their consciences, and their belief; that, in the afternoon of holy days, an hour should be spent in explaining the catechism; that, after the evening prayers, inquiries should be made respecting the poor, such as had given open scandal should be examined, and due penance enjoined—and, moreover, the minister, with some of the ancients of the parish, should consult concerning the state of the people; that, if any behaved improperly, they should first be charitably admonished, and, if they continued obstinate, subjected to severer censures; but none should be excommunicated without consent of the

bishop. Divine offices were not to be performed in chapels or private houses, lest, under that pretence, the churches should be neglected, and heresies more readily disseminated. Large noble families were permitted to have chapels, provided all was agreeable to the book of Common Prayer.

The twentieth was concerning those who bore office in the church,—sextons, churchwardens, deacons, priests, and rural deans. The rural deans were to be named by the bishops, and to hold their station for one year. Their business was to watch over the manners of the clergy and people in their respective districts; to signify to them the bishop's pleasure, and to make a report of their state every sixth month. Archdeacons were appointed also, as general visitors over the rural deans. One of the prebendaries, or some person procured by them, was, twice a week, to expound a portion of the scriptures. The bishops were to be over all, and to remember that their authority was given them in order that many might be brought to Christ, and that wanderers from the fold might be restored by repentance. All were to obey the bishop so far as agreeable to the word of God. He was

to preach often in his church; was to ordain none rashly, or for reward; to provide good pastors, and to deprive bad ones. He was to visit his diocese every third year, or oftener as he saw cause, but he was to do it at his own expense; he was to have yearly synods, and to confirm such as were well instructed; his family was to consist of clergymen whom he was to bring up to the service of the church, and thus, imitating those of St. Austin and other ancient bishops, to furnish a means of supplying the great want of good and faithful ministers; his wife and children were to avoid all levity, and vain dressing; he was never to be absent from his diocese, except upon public and urgent cause; and, when he became sick or infirm, he was to have a coadjutor. If he became scandalous or heretical, he was to be deprived by the king's authority. The archbishops were to exercise the episcopal functions in their own dioceses; were once to visit their whole province; to oversee the bishops; to admonish them for what was amiss; to receive and judge appeals; and to call provincial synods when necessary, having first obtained license so to do from the king. Every bishop was to have a synod of his

clergy at some time during Lent: these synods to begin with the litany, a sermon, and the communion; after which, adjourning to some private place, the clergy were to give the bishop an account of the state of the diocese, and to consult about whatever required attention, each priest giving his opinion, and the bishop delivering the sentence; all was to be concluded as speedily as possible, and the decision held subject to an appeal to the archbishop.

The nine next related to churchwardens, universities, tithes, visitations, testaments, and ecclesiastical censures, suspension, sequestration, deprivation.

The thirtieth treated of excommunication. This they founded on authority given of God to the church, to remove scandalous and corrupt persons from the sacraments, and from fellowship with Christians, and to continue this removal until they gave clear signs of repentance, and submitted to such spiritual punishments as had a tendency to subdue the flesh, and save the spirit. This power was entrusted to churchmen, and chiefly to archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deans, and any others appointed by the church. None

were to be excommunicated but those who continued obstinate in great faults; and, to prevent rashness, he who sat in judgment was to have associated with him a justice of the peace; also, the minister of the parish where the party lived, and two or three learned presbyters; in the presence of all of whom was the subject to be examined, and the sentence, which was to be in writing, pronounced. The sentence was to be published in the parish where the party lived, and in the neighbouring parishes, that all might avoid his company. None, but his own family, were allowed to eat, drink, or associate with him, under pain of excommunication. If he continued forty days without repentance, it was to be certified to the chancery, and a writ to issue for putting him in prison. On his becoming sensible of his offence, and submitting to such punishments as were prescribed, the sentence was to be remitted, and he publicly reconciled to the church. “This was to take place against those who, being condemned for capital offences, obtained the king’s pardon, but were, notwithstanding, to be subject to church censures.”

Penitents were to be received in the following manner. They were to stand without the church, and request to be again received into it; then the minister was to conduct them in, and, in a long discourse, the form of which was prescribed, to declare to the people the heinousness of sin, and the mercies of God in the gospel. After which, he was to show the congregation, that, as hardened sinners were to be abhorred, so sincere penitents were to be received with bowels of compassion. Then he was to warn the excommunicate not to mock God and deceive the people by a feigned contrition. This done, the penitent was to repeat, first, a general confession, then to name his sin, and to pray to God for mercy to himself, and that none might be defiled by his evil example. He was then to beseech the people to forgive him, and receive him once more into their fellowship. Upon this, the minister was to ask the congregation if they would grant his request; and, all answering in the affirmative, he was to lay his hand upon his head, and absolve him from the punishment of his offences, and the bond of his excommunication; and thus

to restore him to his place in the church of God. Thanks were to be offered at the altar for his restoration.

The remainder of the laws referred, principally, to the regulation of the ecclesiastical courts.

During this year, 1552, attempts were made to correct the disorders of the clergy. These disorders sprang from the extreme poverty and misery to which they were reduced. But nothing was done. Some of the ministers of the altar, as stated by a writer who addressed the lord chancellor, were carpenters and taylors; others kept ale-houses. It was justly deemed a reproach, that, while the nation was so ready to support superstition, it should afford so little encouragement to true religion. Many of the clergy did not obey the king's injunctions with respect to the maintenance of students at the universities. In schools and colleges, the poor scholarships were generally filled with the children of the rich. Livings were scandalously sold; and the greater part of the country clergy were so ignorant, they could do little more than read.

The council of Trent still continued its session in Germany. After reiterated applications, a safe conduct was at length granted to the protestant divines, but their propositions were treated with great scorn by the pope's legates, who, seizing a convenient opportunity, suspended the council two years.

The princes and bishops had long wished for a general council, as a means of composing differences concerning religion, and reforming abuses in the church of Rome; while the pope had as long dreaded it, through fear that it would lessen his profit and prerogative. The attention of all, therefore, was turned towards this of Trent. But, such was the number of poor Italian bishops, as well as the ignorance of many of the rest, such the dissensions of the princes, and such the cunning of the legates, that it ended with producing more harm than benefit.

Maurice of Saxe, who had been placed in command of the imperial army, made such use of his power that the emperor was obliged to fly, and a complete revolution was effected in favour of the protestants; so that, eventually, the edict of Passau was made, by which the

several princes and towns were secured in the free exercise of their religion.

Sundry changes were made in the bishoprics in England; and, among the rest, that of Duresme, being found too large, was divided. The superfluous plate, jewels, &c. of the cathedrals and churches, were sold; one, two, or more chalices of silver being reserved for each church or chapel, besides furniture for the communion table and for surplices.

Nor were these the only circumstances worthy of note in the progress of the cause. The king's letters-patent appointing to bishoprics, deserve some attention. They began with mentioning the vacancy of the see, declared that the king, being informed of the good qualifications of the person named, appointed him bishop during life or good behaviour, gave him power to discharge the duties of a bishop, restored to him the temporalities, and ended with a charge to the archbishop to consecrate him. The episcopal function was acknowledged to be of divine appointment; and the king merely named the person to be made bishop, in such manner as lay patrons present to the livings, except that he gave

him legal authority to exercise his office in such part of the dominions as was designated. The office itself was received by imposition of hands. Only in a temporal point of view were the bishops dependant upon the king; in a spiritual sense, they derived their power from the apostles, through those who consecrated them.

In 1553, the king, by letters-patent, authorized all schoolmasters to teach a new and fuller catechism, compiled, as is believed, by Poinet.

But the instruction of the young, as well as spreading the scriptures among the old, and indeed the whole system of the reformation, was now about to descend for a season to the grave. Edward, the hope of the church, the good, the pious king, became very ill. Having had the measles and then the small-pox, and having repeatedly taken cold from violent exercise, he approached the borders of the tomb.

During his illness, bishop Ridley preached before him, dwelling much on works of charity, and, especially, on the duty of men in high stations to be eminent in such works. The king felt this subject to the quick. He

sent for the bishop, praying that he would direct him in the discharge of his duty. The bishop was deeply affected by this conduct in the young king, and burst into tears. He begged time for reflection and asked leave to consult with the lord mayor and court of aldermen, which being granted, and the king having written, requesting that they would consult speedily how the poor should be relieved, in conclusion, he ordered the Gray Friar's church near Newgate, to be a house for orphans, St. Bartholomew's near Smithfield, to be an hospital, and gave his own house of Bridewell to be a place of correction and work for such as were wilfully idle. He also confirmed and enlarged the grant for the hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark, which he had erected and endowed in the previous August. And when, on the 26th of June, he set his hand to these foundations, he returned thanks to God for prolonging his life to see their completion.

He expressed great submission to the will of God, and appeared glad at the approach of death, only saying that he was desirous of life for the sake of the church.

Fears being entertained that evil conse-

quences would result from the reign of lady Mary, the king was persuaded to pass over both his sisters, and settle the crown on lady Jane Gray. This was contrary to the regular succession, and was opposed by the judges and by Cranmer, who would never consent to disinheriting the daughters of his late master; but, with great difficulty, the duke of Northumberland effected it.

Edward grew sensibly worse. At length, on the 6th of July, he saw his end approaching, and composed himself to depart in a most devout manner. His whole exercise was in short prayers and ejaculations. The last that he was heard to use was in these words, ‘Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen: howbeit, not my will but thine be done: Lord I commit my spirit to thee: O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy chosen’s sake send me life and health that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God, bless my people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England: O Lord God, save this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy

holy name, for Jesus Christ his sake.' Discovering some persons near, he appeared troubled at the idea of their having heard him, but, with a pleasant countenance, said he had been praying to God. Soon after, the pangs of death coming on, he said to sir Henry Sidney, who was holding him in his arms, "I am faint;" and, with a prayer, "Lord have mercy on me and receive my spirit," breathed out his soul. Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours and their works do follow them.

King Edward departed from this world in the sixteenth year of his age. He was regarded as the wonder of his time. He was learned in the languages, in the sciences, and in the state of the kingdom. He had acquired great knowledge on all subjects, and attended very closely to all affairs, both foreign and domestic. His virtue and true piety also were very great. He took particular care of the suits of the poor, and was very attentive to paying his own debts. He took notes of whatever he heard in sermons *that had reference more especially to himself*, and judged of all men by their zeal for religion. He felt himself bound in conscience not to consent to his sister Mary's

having mass, because he thought it the duty of all kings to root out idolatry. On this subject he argued so learnedly with the bishops, that they left him amazed at his knowledge in divinity. He was so affable, that he was easy of access at all times, insomuch that he was generally beloved. He was compared to king Josiah. Much was expected from the reign of such a monarch; but, for the sins of the people, he was taken to a better world.

## CHAPTER XI.

Lady Jane Gray proclaimed—Mary made Queen—Her character—Gardiner's policy—Edward's funeral—Disturbance at St. Paul's—Mary's answer to the men of Suffolk—Bradford and Rogers imprisoned—Popish bishops restored—The reformers turned out of their pulpits, and papists put in their places—Hooper and others imprisoned—Images, Latin service and old rites, once more—Cranmer's conduct—He refuses to fly—He and Latimer sent to the Tower—The queen treats with the pope—Joy at Rome—Pool sent as legate but stopped—Lady Jane Gray executed—Elizabeth imprisoned—Popery re-established throughout England—Dispute at Oxford—Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, condemned.

THE Lord's ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts. Had the rising church been left to decide, Edward would have continued on the throne of England until the reformation was perfectly established, and the rubbish of superstition swept away entirely. Instead of that, we see him summoned to the tomb, and, in his room, not a

protestant, not a friend to pure and undefiled religion raised up, but a daughter of Rome, a patroness of ignorance and persecution.

“God is his own interpreter,  
“And he will make it plain.”

Pursuant to the will of Edward, lady Jane Gray was proclaimed; but the people generally declared for Mary, as did, at length, the council, and she was accepted as queen. Had not the duke of Northumberland been hateful to the nation, this event would not have been effected without bloodshed. Lady Jane herself had no desire to reign. She thought the throne belonged to Mary, and she was a woman of remarkable piety and learning, who had no relish for the station of queen. Mary, however, sent her and her principal adherents to the Tower.

On her way to London, the new queen was met by Elizabeth; who, with a thousand horse, had come to assist her in obtaining the crown. She made her entry on the third of August, with great pomp. When she went to the Tower, whither it was customary for kings and queens to go previous to their coronation,

Gardiner, the duke of Norfolk, and some others, were set at liberty.

Mary was naturally of a sombre cast of mind, inclined to superstition and melancholy. This native disposition was not a little increased by her adversities, insomuch that she became peevish and splenetic. In the differences between her parents, she followed her mother's interests, which were, in fact, her own. At one time her father had become highly offended with her, and but one man dared to plead her cause; that man was Cranmer. He saved her life. After her mother's death, she professed, though with much dissimulation, an implicit obedience to her father, declaring she would have no opinion, but that he should take her heart into his keeping, and impress upon it whatever his inestimable virtue, high wisdom, and excellent learning, should think convenient for her. During her father's life, she was exactly compliant to his will, and, after his death, she plead for no other religion than that established by him; but, now that she had ascended the throne, she manifested her secret wish, which was for downright popery.

Gardiner, who was a subtle man, desired to carry religion back, first, to what it was at king Henry's death, and then, by slow degrees, to popery; but Mary herself was anxious to return immediately to the catholic church, as she called the church of Rome. Fearing that his influence was not sufficiently great, Gardiner wrote to the emperor, on whom the queen greatly relied, that, if his majesty would persuade her to make him chancellor, he would so order affairs that they should be brought back in due time to what she wished. In this he was the more earnest, because he understood she had sent for cardinal Pool, who, he assured the emperor, in his zeal for the popedom, would undo all. He stated that the people were not ripe for an immediate return to the bosom of Rome, partly because they held the church lands which must be given up, and partly because, for the last twenty-five years, popery had been set forth to them as the most intolerable of all tyrannies. Gardiner succeeded. The emperor wrote to the queen in his favour, and he was made chancellor. So that now the measure of Mary's councils was, to do every thing slowly, and, by such sure steps, as should put

little to hazard. The duke of Northumberland was condemned and executed. At his death, he declared he had always been a papist, though, after the fall of the protector, he was the principal member of the council of king Edward.

On the eighth of August took place the solemnities of Edward's funeral. It was intended that the burial rites should be according to the old forms; but this Cranmer stoutly opposed, insisting that the king was a zealous promoter of the reformation, and, moreover, that the English service was then established by law. He performed, himself, all the offices of the burial, to which he joined the solemnities of a communion. His was, undoubtedly, a sincere sorrow; for, not only did he love the king, beyond expression, he also had reason to regard his funeral as the burial of the reformation, and the herald of his own death.

On the twelfth of August, Mary made an open declaration in council, that, notwithstanding her conscience had been staid in matters of religion, yet, she was resolved not to compel or strain others. She expressed a hope, that, through the opening of God's

word, by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers, the people would be persuaded to embrace the truth.

Now, all the deprived bishops expected to be placed immediately in their sees. Bonner went to St. Paul's, on Sunday the thirteenth of August, and Bourne, his chaplain, preached before him. Bourne spoke honourably of Bonner, and reflected sharply on the proceedings against him during the reign of king Edward. This caused a great tumult, and would have cost Bourne his life, if Bradford and Rogers, two reformed preachers in great credit with the people, had not appeased them.

This was precisely such an event as the papists desired. Immediately they prohibited all preaching, except by those who had the queen's special license, and thus, at one blow, closed the mouths of all the reformers. At the same time, the queen announced that she was of the same religion she had professed from her infancy. The people well knew that to be popery, and they anticipated an entire overthrow of all reformation.

The men of Suffolk, who were the first to rally round the queen on her seeking the

crown, and to whom, on account of their love for reformation, she had promised that there should be no innovations in religion, came now to expostulate with her, and to remind her of her pledge. She returned them no other answer, than, that they, being members, must learn to obey the head, and not think to bear rule over it.

Bradford and Rogers, who had appeased the tumult at St. Paul's, and saved the life of Bourne, were treated with great severity. Their appeasing the people was considered a proof that they had great interest with them, and therefore, a presumption that they had excited the tumult, and, on this presumption, they were sent to the Tower.

Bonner, Gardiner, and the other deprived popish bishops, were restored to their sees.

On the twenty-ninth of August, Gardiner was empowered to give licenses, under the great seal of England, to such preachers as he should select. The reformers, seeing that there was no hope of their obtaining any licenses, and, also, that their pulpits were about to be filled with men who would mislead their people, concluded, that, notwithstanding the interdict, it was their duty to

preach openly. Some contented themselves with having the prayers and other service in the churches, and instructing the people in private conferences. Hearing that their orders had been disobeyed, the council sent for several, and put them in prison; among whom was Hooper, bishop of Gloucester.

The popish party throughout England, growing insolent, began to make changes before the laws warranted them, and, in many places, they set up images, and the Latin service, with the old rites. The council encouraged them to the utmost of their power.

In many places, where the people were inclined to popery, they drove away their pastors. At Oxford, Peter Martyr was so ill used, that he fled to Lambeth for protection; but that was a poor fortress, for Cranmer himself daily expected to be sent to prison. He was quiet, but he continued to give public and noble testimonies to that truth of which he had so long been the chief champion. Bonner behaved with great insolence, and announced that Cranmer was to be sent to the Tower immediately. Of this Cranmer was informed, and his friends advised him to fly beyond sea, but he refused so to do, saying,

that, as a persecution was rising, he would not dissuade others from flight, but, considering the station he occupied, and the leading part he had taken in the reformation, he thought it indecent for him to fly. From this opinion no entreaties could move him.

Seeing Cranmer so quiet, Bonner charged him with an intention to conform, whereupon he drew up a declaration of the falsehood of the charge, and of his willingness to defend all the doctrines and order of religion set forth during the reign of king Edward, as most conformable to the institution of Christ, and to the practice of the apostles, and of the primitive church. This he determined to use publicly, but, before he had fully completed it, it was procured and published without his knowledge; in consequence of which, he was called before the star-chamber. He acknowledged the production as his, but declared his sorrow that it had gone from him so soon, as he had intended enlarging it, and affixing it to the door of St. Paul's, and the other churches in London, with his hand and seal annexed. Contrary to the expectation of all men, he was dismissed. This was owing to the following circumstance. Gardiner knew that he

could not succeed him in the archbishopric, but that the queen intended Pool for that office, and he, therefore, resolved to preserve Cranmer as long as possible. It was moved by some members of the council that Cranmer should be merely deposed, and a small pension allowed him, with a charge to retire and not meddle with religion. He was generally beloved for the gentleness of his temper, and fears were entertained, that, proceeding severely against him, would alienate the people, and endanger affairs in the next parliament. The more relentless of his enemies objected to his being spared, contending, that, as he was the chief promoter of heresy, lenity towards him would make others obstinate. With these, the queen, forgetting the services rendered her during the life of her father, and mindful only that he pronounced the sentence of divorce against her mother, joined her influence, so that, at length, on the thirteenth of September, he and Latimer were sent to the Tower.

The foreign reformers generally, were allowed to depart. Among these were Peter Martyr; and John A. Lasco, with his flock. Many of the English fled the country, some

in the company, and as the servants, of French protestants. But the council soon took effectual measures to prevent this. Some who escaped were eminent divines, who, being attached to no cure, felt themselves under no obligation to remain. Having been deprived of their benefices, or otherwise separated from their flocks, they conceived that they did not, by flying, incur the censure of hirelings looking only to their own safety.

On the first of October, Mary was crowned with all the ceremonies of popery. On the tenth, parliament met. Two of the reformed bishops who attended, were deprived of their seats for refusing to worship the host. An act was passed confirming the marriage of king Henry to queen Catharine, and declaring the divorce unlawful. All the laws passed in the reign of king Edward on the subject of religion were repealed, and the service used in the last year of king Henry adopted.

Mary, forgetful of the readiness with which her sister, Elizabeth, flew to her aid, when she was seeking the crown, treated her with roughness.

On the third of November, Cranmer, the

lady Jane Gray, and several others were attainted. By this attainder, Cranmer was legally divested of his archbishopric, but, not spiritually, according to the canon-law, and it was resolved to allow him to continue archbishop until he was solemnly degraded, agreeably to the popish mode. The queen was determined to give him his life at this time, thinking, that, by so doing, she was released from her obligation to him; resolving, however, to have him proceeded against for heresy, that thus it might appear she did not act from a spirit of revenge, or on any personal account, but purely for the sake of religion. She wished to seem willing to pardon injuries against herself, but, on the subject of popery, she was inexorable.—Cranmer remained in prison.

By a secret messenger, the queen signified to the pope her desire to bring back her kingdom to his sway, at the same time, requesting that her intention might not be divulged, lest it should create disturbance. She desired, however, that cardinal Pool might be sent over with a legatine power. This intelligence caused great joy at Rome. The prospect of England becoming once more tribu-

tary—England, which, in ancient time had proved so abundant a source of wealth, filled the pope and cardinals with gladness. A public rejoicing of three days was kept. Pool was despatched immediately.

Gardiner, discovering this, besought the emperor to stop his journey, declaring that all things were going on well, and that his coming would ruin all. The emperor stopped him. Mary, also, sent to him at Dilling, a town on the Danube, lamenting that her message to the pope had been made so public, and informing him that his coming over was occasioning great disturbance. She asked him to delay his journey, and requested his advice on sundry subjects. He recommended an immediate return to popery, without any temporizing, or fear of consequences. But Gardiner's policy prevailed.

The emperor proposed to Mary a match with his son Philip, to which she consented.

Seeing this design of uniting with Rome and marrying Philip, the commons were much alarmed; they sent an earnest and humble address to the queen, entreating her not to marry a stranger. She dissolved their session.

An assemblage of the convocation was held, and Bonner presided. A disputation, chiefly on the subject of the corporal presence, was carried on, in which a very few of the reformers were allowed to take part. They, however, after receiving much insolent treatment, were finally silenced by the prolocutor, saying, “ You have the word, but we have the sword.”

So unpopular was the match with Philip, that revolts began to take place; but these, with some difficulty, were quelled, and Wiat, a ringleader, put to death.

Lady Jane Gray and her husband were executed. Writing to her father, shortly before her death, she said, “ She rejoiced at her approaching end, since nothing could be to her more welcome than to be delivered from that valley of misery, into that Heavenly throne to which she was to be advanced.” At the scaffold, having desired the people’s prayers, she kneeled down, and repeated the fifty-first psalm. Then she laid her head upon the block, and cried out, “ Lord, into thy hands I recommend my spirit.”—She did not deserve this death, for she accepted of the royal authority most unwillingly, and only at the earnest

solicitation of her father, and, moreover, in compliance with king Edward's will.

Without any foundation, Elizabeth was charged with promoting the late revolts, and put in prison.

The nation being now settled, the queen gave instructions to the bishops to take the circuit of their dioceses, and restore all things to the state in which they were in the days of her father; removing all married clergymen, establishing ancient ceremonies, punishing heretics, compelling the people to attend church, &c. She directed that the bishops should no more proceed in her name in their courts, and that the oath of supremacy should not be exacted.

The bishops were made to suffer first. Seven were deprived because they were married. Six were turned out for other reasons. These removals, with three deaths, paved the way for the appointment of sixteen new popish bishops.

This done, the bishops began to execute the queen's injunctions. The new service was every where cast out, and the old ceremonies set up. The most eminent preachers in London were put in confinement. A gene-

ral assault was made upon the clergy throughout England, on account of their wives. Out of sixteen thousand, twelve thousand are supposed to have suffered. Some were deprived without conviction. Some were turned out without being cited to appear. Many, who were in prison, were cited and turned out, for not appearing when they could not. Some left their wives for their livings. They were all summarily deprived. And, moreover, after their deprivation, they were forced to leave their wives. This piece of cruelty was founded upon a pretence that they had made a vow. In order to justify all this, writings were published against the marriage of the clergy.

The reformers complained, that, the disputes of the last convocation were unfairly conducted; their principal men being in prison, and, those who were allowed to speak, much interrupted. It was, therefore, resolved to hold disputations at Oxford in the presence of the university, and, to this end, the convocation sent the prolocutor and several members of their body to that place, and, as Cranmer and Ridley were the most learned of the reformers, they were removed from the Tower of London to the prisons of Oxford. To them

was joined Latimer, then about eighty years of age. He was never accounted a man of learning, but he had been a celebrated preacher, and had probably promoted the reformation as much, by his labours in the pulpit, as others by their pens.

The papists came to Oxford the thirteenth of April, 1554. They sent for the bishops, and assigned them a day each for defending their doctrine, but ordered them to be kept apart, and deprived of all access to books or notes.

Three questions were to be disputed, viz.

Whether the natural body of Christ was really in the sacrament?

Whether any other substance remained besides the body and blood of Christ?

Whether in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice, for the dead and living?

When Cranmer was brought forth, Weston, the prolocutor, exhorted him to return to the unity of the church. He answered, with great gravity and modesty, "I am as much for unity as any, but it must be a unity in Christ and according to the truth."

When the dispute with Cranmer began, Weston made a singular stumble in the open-

ing of his speech. He said, “Ye are this day assembled to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of Christ’s body in the sacrament.” But, recovering himself, he proceeded. The dispute was carried on, Cranmer in the negative, answering all their arguments.

The next day, Ridley was brought before his antagonists. He maintained the same ground with Cranmer, until the prolocutor was tired, and called out to the audience to cry with him, “truth has the victory.”

When Latimer was brought forth, he told them he had not used Latin much these twenty years, and was not able to dispute; but he would declare his faith, and then they might do as they pleased. He denied the corporal presence, and lamented their changing the communion into a mass, taking the cup from the people, and having the service in an unknown tongue. Perceiving they laughed at him, he told them to consider his great age, and to think what they might be when they came to it. They pressed him much to answer their arguments; he said his memory was gone, but his faith was grounded on the word of God.

During the whole disputation, there was, as Ridley states, great disorder, perpetual shoutings, tauntings, and reproaches; so that it looked rather like a stage, than a school of divines.

After it was over, the reformers were brought before the papists, and required to subscribe with them. This they refused, as the disputation had not been fairly conducted; whereupon, they were pronounced obstinate heretics, and declared to be no longer members of the church.

Upon which, Cranmer said, “From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of Almighty God, trusting to be present with him in Heaven, for whose presence on the altar I am thus condemned.”

Ridley answered, “Although I be not of your company, yet I doubt not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than we should by the course of nature have come.”

Latimer answered, “I thank God most heartily that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may, in this case, glorify God with this kind of death.”

Weston replied, “If you go to Heaven, with this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded.”

After this, there was a solemn procession in Oxford, the host being carried by Weston.

## CHAPTER XII.

Conduct of the Reformers in prison—Mary married to Philip—Cardinal Pool arrives—Parliament petitions to be reconciled to Rome—Their petition graciously received—All acts against Rome repealed—Laws against heretics revived—Discussions about heretics—Pool proposes a reformation of the clergy—Gardiner advocates persecution—Persecution rages—Martyrdom of Rogers, Hooper, and others—Dr. Taylor—The nation filled with horror—Gardiner leaves the persecution to Bonner—Queen Mary's conscience—The Pope's modesty.

WE behold now glaring before us, through no long vista, the flames of martyrdom; man quenching the firebrand of his malice in the heart's blood of his fellow man. It is indeed most awful to see such monstrous perversions of every thing sacred—the blackest passions of the human heart assuming the name, and wearing the badge, of the tender and merciful gospel. Truly Satan can transform himself into an angel of light.

Ridley and Latimer were allowed to have some communication with each other in their confinement. This privilege was denied Cranmer; but letters were, with difficulty, sent to him. In one of these, Ridley wrote, that, he trusted, the day of their deliverance out of all their miseries, and of their entrance into perpetual rest, and perpetual joy and felicity, drew nigh. He prayed God to strengthen them with the mighty spirit of his grace. He desired Cranmer to pray for him, as he did also for Cranmer.

The prisoners in London, hearing that the papists intended insulting them by such a mock disputation as that which took place at Oxford, wrote a declaration of their faith; and, at the same time, declined disputing in any other way than by writing; unless it might be before the queen and council, or either house of parliament.

The princess Elizabeth was taken out of the Tower, and placed in the custody of lord Williams, who treated her with great civility; but the court, not being pleased with this, transferred her to the keeping of Sir Henry Belfield, by whom she was more roughly used.

On the 25th July, 1554, Queen Mary was married to Philip, son of the emperor Charles 5th. His Spanish gravity and stiffness were not pleasing to the English. He, however, saved Elizabeth from the designs of Gardiner, who, knowing her attachment to the reformation, was bent on her destruction.

During the summer of 1554, the bishops performed their visitations. Their great object was, to see that every thing was executed according to the queen's injunctions, and above all, that popery was fully established. They did not re-ordain those who were ordained in king Edward's time, but merely reconciled them to the church, by adding such ceremonies as they considered wanting, as, anointing, giving priestly vestments, &c. Bonner, in the course of his visitation, conducted with great violence and impiety. He caused the passages of scripture, which had been affixed to the walls of the churches, against the real presence and other errors, to be erased.

The carvers and makers of statues had now business enough, roods and other images being wanted for all places.

On the eleventh of November, a new parliament was summoned. In the writ of sum-

mons, the title, “Supreme Head of the church,” was left out.

Affairs being, at length, in suitable train, cardinal Pool, the pope’s legate, was allowed to come to England. He addressed parliament in a long speech, inviting the nation to return to the papal see. To this speech a response was immediately given, for, a committee of both houses was appointed, to prepare a supplication, beseeching that they might be reconciled to Rome. This petition was presented to the king and queen, by both houses, on their knees, praying them to be intercessors with the legate. The intercession was successful. Pool made another long speech, receiving the English nation into communion with Rome, enjoining, as a penance, the repeal of the late laws, and granting full absolution in the name of his holiness.

The penance was performed. An act passed repealing all the acts against the see of Rome, since the 20th of Henry 8th. By a proviso in this act, however, the lands taken from religious houses were not to revert to them. Not only were bulls from Rome declared lawful, and the title of Supreme Head severed from the crown, but, to encourage

gifts to the church, the statutes of mortmain were repealed, for the succeeding twenty years. The laws against heretics were revived in all their violence. In passing these various acts, the house of commons manifested great ardour, because they saw this the most effectual way of recommending themselves to the queen.

All the bills being ended, parliament was dissolved the 16th January, to Gardiner's no small joy. He had now performed every thing he had undertaken. He had fulfilled his promise to the queen, and to the emperor; and, in consequence, his reputation as a great statesman and dexterous manager, was raised to the highest pitch.

A consultation immediately took place as to the mode of dealing with heretics. Cardinal Pool advocated lenient measures. He said "Pastors ought to have bowels even to their straying sheep. Bishops were mere fathers, and ought to look on those that erred as their sick children, and not for that to kill them. He thought severe proceedings rather inflamed than cured the disease; and, especially, that great difference was to be made between a nation overrun with errors, and a few indi-

viduals infected." His proposal was, to begin with a strict reformation of the manners of the clergy, as, every where, their evil lives and ignorance had always been the most fruitful source of heresy. But Gardiner, who knew more about intrigues of state than ecclesiastical affairs, was for violence. He felt confident, that, if the reformers knew they were to be burnt, they would soon renounce their errors. Both these counsels the queen adopted. She encouraged Pool to go on in correcting the manners of the clergy, and pressed Gardiner to proceed against the heretics.

The persecution began. Thirty were apprehended, at a meeting, where one Rose was about to administer the communion, according to the English book of service. They were put in prison. Rogers, who had been for some time in confinement, was, with several others, brought before the council. Great pains were taken to persuade them to renounce the doctrines of the reformation, and be reconciled to Rome, but they stood firm. They were remanded to prison, with orders to keep them more strictly than before.

On the 25th January, 1555, Hooper and

Rogers were brought before their persecutors; and, both refusing to have any fellowship with anti-Christian Rome, they were condemned as obstinate heretics.

On the 4th February, Rogers was led to Smithfield. He asked permission to speak to his wife, but this was denied him. Neither was he suffered to make any speech to the people. He said a few words, desiring all to continue in the doctrine he had taught them; a doctrine, for the sake of which, he not only had patiently endured all the bitterness and cruelty exercised upon him, but, also, now, most gladly, resigned his life, and gave his flesh to the consuming fire. He repeated the fifty-first psalm, and fitted himself for the stake. A pardon was offered him if he would recant, but he chose to submit to the severe, but short suffering before him, rather than, by apostacy, to run the risk of everlasting burnings. The fire was kindled, and he was consumed to ashes.

Hooper, after being degraded from his priestly office, was sent to his diocese of Gloucester, to be burnt there. At this he rejoiced, hoping by his death to confirm the faith of those over whom he had formerly

been placed. One day's interval was allowed him, which he spent in fasting and prayer. Some came to persuade him to accept of the queen's mercy, since life was sweet and death bitter. He answered, "the death that is to come after is more bitter, and the life that is to follow is more sweet." Once, as his friends parted with him, he shed tears; "All my imprisonment," said he, "has not made me do so much." On the 9th of February, he was led to execution. Being denied leave to speak, but allowed to pray, he declared his belief in the strain of a prayer. The queen's pardon being showed him, he desired them to take it away. He prayed earnestly for strength from God to endure his torment patiently, and then undressed himself and embraced the reeds. When he was tied to the stake with iron chains, he desired them to spare their labour, for he was confident he should not trouble them. The fire was kindled, but the wood, being green, burnt ill, and the wind blew away the flame of the reeds. He prayed oft, "O Jesus, thou son of David, have mercy on me and receive my soul," and called to the people, for the love of God, to bring him more fire, for it was burning his nether parts, but did not reach his

vitals. The fire was renewed, but the wind still blew it away and prevented its rising up to stifle him, so that he was long in torment. The last words he was heard to utter, were, “Lord Jesus receive my spirit!” One of his hands dropped off before he died; with the other he continued to knock on his breast for some time. He was near three quarters of an hour in burning.

Sanders was burnt at Coventry. He was condemned for preaching and refusing to conform to the new laws. A pardon was offered him also, but he said he held no heresies but the blessed gospel of Christ, and that he would never recant. When he came to the stake he embraced it, and said, “Welcome the cross of Christ! Welcome everlasting life!” And so he was burnt.

Dr. Taylor, parson of Hadley, followed next in the throng of martyrs. Several of the neighbouring priests going to say mass in his church, he went thither, and openly declared against it. Immediately, Gardiner sent for him to come to London. Some of his friends advised him to go out of the way, but he said, “He must follow Christ, the good shepherd, who not only fed his flock, but died for it. He was

old, and thought he should never be able, at any other time, to do his good God such service as he was then called to." So he went with much cheerfulness. Gardiner treated him with his usual roughness. He was condemned and sent to Hadley to be burnt. All the way he expressed great composure. When brought to the stake, he told the people he had taught them nothing but God's holy word, and was now to seal it with his blood. One of the guard struck him on the head, and made him cease speaking. Then he went to his prayers, and so to the stake. He was put in a pitched barrel. As the wood was laying about, some one flung a faggot at his head and broke it. He bled profusely; but his only answer was, "Oh! friend, I have harm enough: what needed that?" He repeated the fifty-first psalm in English, at which one of the guard struck him on the mouth, and bade him speak Latin. He continued his ejaculations to God, until the fire was kindled, and one of the guard struck him in the head with his halbert, so that his brains fell out.—And is it possible that these persecutors could call themselves Christians!

Gardiner, who expected that a few instances

of cruelty would subdue all opposition to popery, was much disappointed, for the whole nation was filled with amazement and horror; insomuch, that he determined to have no more to do with the persecution, but left it to Bonner; a fit instrument, whom the very meekness of the gospel must pronounce both savage and brutal.

The spirit of popery was now fully manifest, and the people could not but contrast it with that of the reformation. In the days of king Edward, the papists were merely turned out of their livings, and, in a very few instances, imprisoned: but now, the reformers were put to death with every variety of cruelty. Some were threatened with having their tongues cut out, unless they would promise not to make speeches to the people at the stake.

Such was the astonishment of the nation at these cruelties, and such the disposition to charge them to him, that king Philip thought it expedient openly to disavow them. This startled the popish clergy a little; but they resolved to go on, and, rather than the heretics should escape, take the whole blame upon themselves.

A petition was sent to the queen from some who were beyond sea, exhorting her, with many arguments, to stay the persecution; and, among other things, reminding her that Cranmer saved her life in the reign of her father; but all was in vain.

On the 16th March, Thomas Thompkins was burnt at Smithfield, for denying transubstantiation. Bonner laboured for some months to induce him to recant; first, by fair means; then, by cruel; tearing out his beard, holding his hand in the flame till the sinews and veins shrunk and burnt, &c.; but, finding him incorrigible, he delivered him to the stake.

William Hunter, an apprentice of nineteen, suffered next. Bonner offered him forty pounds to recant; so mercenary a thing did he suppose conscience. During the month of March, a number of others were burnt. The mode of process was, not to summon witnesses, but, to present certain articles, and if the accused answered to these heretically, they were burnt. Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was burnt.

One White, an honest, poor fisherman, and a very old man, having sent his son to school that he might learn to read the Bible to him,

was imprisoned; and, afterwards, on his answering as a heretic, burnt.

But the people became so enraged at these persecutions, that a stop was put to them for a time.

The conscience of queen Mary was disturbed about the church lands held by the crown. She made a surrender of them to the disposition of the pope. The pope declared to the English ambassadors, that all the church lands must be restored under pain of damnation; also, that the Peter-pence must be paid; and, that, they must not expect St. Peter would open Heaven to them, so long as they usurped his goods on earth. The ambassadors treated him with great submission, falling at his feet.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Persecution still rages—The dead body of a robber cited, condemned and burnt—The nobility and gentry directed to attend the burnings—Gardiner's subtlety—Martyrdom of Latimer and Ridley—Death of Gardiner—Parliament disgusted, but Mary perseveres—Reformation of the clergy proposed—Influence of the lives of clergymen—Germany—Abdication of Charles 5th—Cranmer tried and degraded—His recantation—His martyrdom—His character.

WE would fain pause amid this recital, and contemplate, for a moment, the desperately wicked character of the human heart; how entirely resigned to selfishness, and how utterly dead to all that is holy, except so far as influenced by the spirit of God. We have adverted to this repeatedly before, but it is useful to revolve the reflection again and again, as it may fasten upon our souls a deep sense of the importance of our securing the baptism of the Holy Ghost. These English, or rather Romish persecutors, of olden time, though

they appear to our view reeking from their butcheries, are only exhibiting the same depravity of which we ourselves are sharers. If the blessed reformation, reflecting, upon our fathers and upon us, the unclouded light of the Bible, for centuries, has taught us better, we should remember, that, if left to ourselves, we should be prone to similar enormities. And though, like Hazael, we may each exclaim, “Am I a dog that I should do this thing?” we should rather inquire—were not these papists from the same stock with us? inheritors of the same nature? united to the same fallen Adam? Have we not in ourselves the seeds of every evil passion? and, though our constitutions are cast in somewhat different moulds, and our sympathies are diverse in degree, would not those seeds, if unchecked, spring up to the perpetration of every variety of sin? Surely, then, it becomes us, while we are weeping for others, to weep also for ourselves. Surely it becomes us, while we are wondering at the depravity of human nature, to call to mind the fact, that we are partakers of the same human nature; and to ask our consciences the question, each and every one of us, Have I been born again? Am I a new

creature? Have old things passed away, and all things become new in me? If this question cannot be answered in the affirmative, we are not fit for the kingdom of Heaven: so says He who has the key of that kingdom, the Lord Jesus Christ.

Complaints being brought from the country that the justices of the peace were remiss in the establishment of popery, orders were issued to them, to be more attentive to their duty, to encourage Romish preachers, and to seek out heretics.

Bonner complained, on discovering that all the severities were left to him, and relaxed a little of his earnestness in persecution; but the king and queen wrote him a letter, admonishing him to proceed.

In the month of June, many were burnt; and, among the rest, the dead body of a robber, who, at the time of his execution, uttered something which savoured of heresy. This circumstance having reached the ears of the council, they ordered Bonner to inquire into it, and proceed according to the ecclesiastical laws. He formed a process, and cited the body to answer; but, as it neither appeared nor answered, it was condemned and burnt.

Fears being entertained that tumults would take place at some of the burnings in the country, the council sent directions into several counties, for the nobility and gentry to attend and assist at the executions.

Bradford, who had appeased the tumult at St. Paul's, in the beginning of Mary's reign, and saved the life of the Romish preacher, was burnt, and, with him, one Lease, an apprentice of nineteen. When they came to the stake, they both fell down and prayed. Then Bradford took a faggot in his hand, and kissed it; he kissed also the stake; expressing thereby the joy he had in his sufferings. He cried, "Oh! England, repent, repent; beware of idolatry and false anti-Christs." But, the sheriff hindering him from speaking any more, he embraced his fellow sufferer, and prayed him to be of good comfort, for they should sup with Christ that night. His last words were, "straight is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth into eternal life, and few there be that find it."

Pool, though an enemy to these violent measures, did not dare oppose them, because, the pope, who hated him with a bitter hatred, only wanted a plausible excuse to destroy him.

Gardiner, too, was full of jealousy, and this jealousy still led him to preserve Cranmer, for he feared, that, if Cranmer was put to death, Pool would be made archbishop of Canterbury. Gardiner excused his real design in preserving Cranmer, by suggesting that it was better to use every means to induce him to recant, than to burn him; because, if he recanted, it would confound the whole reformation, and bring over all who were weak or wavering; whereas his death would only confirm them.

Several were burnt at Canterbury in July, and many more at different places during August, September, and October; as William Allen, at Walsingham, six in one fire at Canterbury, and others.

On the 16th October, bishops Ridley and Latimer surrendered their lives at Oxford. A commission of sundry popish bishops was sent to try them. They refused to pay any respect to the authority of the pope, under which the commission acted; declaring, that, the bishops of Rome had been held in great esteem for the worthiness of their character, and the dignity of their city, but, had no right to the supremacy claimed in latter ages. Great

pains were taken to induce them to accept of the queen's mercy, but they firmly refused. The night before their execution, Ridley was very joyful, and invited the mayor and his wife, in whose house he was kept, to be at his wedding next day; at which, when the mayor's wife wept, he said, he perceived she did not love him; he told her, though his breakfast would be sharp, he was sure his supper would be sweet. He was glad to hear that his sister would come and see him die; and was in such composure of mind that all were amazed. In the morning, as they were led out to the place of execution, they looked up to the prison where Cranmer was kept, to see him, but he was engaged in a dispute with some friars, and was not at his window. He looked after them with great tenderness, and, kneeling down, prayed earnestly that God would strengthen their faith and patience, in that, their last, but painful passage. When they came to the stake, they embraced each other with great affection, Ridley saying to Latimer, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or enable us to abide it." Dr. Smith was appointed to preach, and took his text from these

words—*If I give my body to be burned and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.* He compared their dying for heresy to Judas hanging himself; and warned the people to beware of them, with as much bitterness as he could express. The best of it was, the sermon lasted not above a quarter of an hour. When he had finished, Ridley was going to answer him, and the lord Williams, who was appointed by the queen to see the execution, was inclined to hear him; but the vice chancellor said, “except he intended to recant, he must not be suffered to speak.” Ridley answered, “he would never deny his Lord, nor those truths of His of which he was persuaded. God’s will be done in him. He committed himself to God, who would indifferently judge all.” Then, addressing himself to the lord Williams, he said, “nothing troubled him so much as that he had received fines of some who took leases of him when he was bishop of London, which leases were now voided. He, therefore, humbly prayed that the queen would give order that those might be made good to the tenants, or, that the fines might be restored, out of the goods which he had left in his house, and which were of far greater

value than the fines would amount to: also, that some pity might be had of Shipside, his brother-in-law, who was turned out of a place he had put him in, and had now attended on him with great care." After this, they both prayed and fitted themselves for the stake; Latimer saying to Ridley, "Be of good comfort, we shall this day light such a candle in England, as I trust, by God's grace, shall never be put out." Gunpowder being hanged about their bodies in great quantities to hasten their death, the fire was kindled. The powder taking fire, Latimer was, at the first flame, put out of pain. He died immediately. But Ridley suffered a more lingering torment, for they threw on the fire so much wood, that the flame could not break through it. His legs were almost consumed before this was observed; but then, a passage being opened to the flame, it put an end to his life.

Thus died these two excellent bishops. The one, for his piety, learning, and solid judgment, justly esteemed the ablest man of all who promoted the reformation; and the other, for the plain simplicity of his life, a truly primitive bishop and Christian.

Gardiner shortly after died also. He had

great remorse of conscience on account of his life. Day, bishop of Chichester, coming to him, and comforting him with the assurance of justification through the blood of Christ, he answered, “you may speak of that to me, or others in my condition, but, if you open that gap again, and preach that to the people, then farewell altogether.” He often repeated those words—*Erravi cum Petro, sed non flevi cum Petro.*—I have erred with Peter, but I have not mourned with Peter.

The disgust of the people at the cruelties of popery was now manifest in parliament. It became evident that the prime object of the queen was to exalt and enrich the clergy, even to the destruction of the nation. A subsidy having been moved, parliament at first refused to grant it; and it was not until the queen sent them word that she declined it, that they voted it to her.

Still unwavering in her course, the queen resigned the tenths and first fruits of spiritual benefices, which her father had required as a tax from the clergy. This met with great opposition in the house of commons.

An attempt was made to sequester the estates of those reformers who had fled be-

yond sea; but the commons thought they had already consented to too severe laws against them, and, therefore, would add no more.

Pool, being now freed from the jealousies of Gardiner, prosecuted his intention of reforming the clergy. By warrant from the queen, he summoned a convocation, in which sundry decrees were passed.

By these decrees, the bishops were exhorted to lay aside all secular cares, and attend wholly to the pastoral office; to preach constantly; to be very careful in ordaining; and to provide, by every means possible, for the sound instruction of their people. They were exhorted, also, to be plain and frugal in their living, laying aside all pride and pomp, all rich furniture, all superfluity of dishes; not to be clothed in silk, nor to have too many servants or horses; and, moreover, to have the scriptures, and other good books, read at their tables, and to expend the surplus of their revenue in educating poor students, and other works of piety. All non-residence was forbidden. It was ordered, that, in every cathedral, there should be a seminary for supplying the diocese.

Pool also projected a book of homilies.

Surely this plan of setting the clergy to reform themselves was much better than encouraging them to persecute heretics; for the people, generally, are so little disposed to attend to speculative points, that the lives of the clergy are calculated to have a more powerful influence upon them than the most learned discussions. A holy example will win them even to a bad cause, while a dissolute one will alienate them from truth itself. Weak as was Pool in neglecting to oppose the persecution, through fear of the pope, he certainly acted wisely in this instance. Nor was this the only one, for he refused a proposition made by the Jesuits to establish them in England. They were very anxious to get the nation into their power, but he withstood them.

In November, three were burnt at one stake in Canterbury; and, on the 18th December, Philpot was burnt at Smithfield.<sup>1</sup> As he was led into the place, he kneeled down, and said, “I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield!” When he was brought to the stake, he said, “Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, since my Redeemer did not refuse

to suffer on the cross for me?" He repeated the 106th, 107th, and 108th psalms, and fitted himself for the fire, which consumed him to ashes. And thus ended this year, in which there were sixty-seven burnt for religion, of whom, four were bishops, and thirteen were priests.

In Germany, a diet was held at Augsburg, where the peace of the empire was fully settled; and it was decreed that the princes of the Augsburg confession should enjoy the free exercise of their religion; and, moreover, that every prince might establish in his own state, what religion he pleased. From this privilege, however, the ecclesiastical princes were excepted. They were to forfeit their benefices, if they left the papacy. In other principalities, not included in the range of these grants, as Ferdinand's hereditary dominions, &c. permission was given to administer the sacrament of the supper in both kinds. The pope was highly offended.

In the close of this year, Charles 5th, emperor of Germany, discovering that he could not always command success, growing weary of the world, and desiring some leisure to prepare himself for eternity, voluntarily resigned

his dominions to his son Philip, and retired to a sequestered spot on the confines of Castile and Portugal. There, among other occupations, he employed himself in making clocks, and, when he found he could not cause all his clocks to strike at the same moment, he acknowledged his folly in endeavouring to unite all men in the same opinion on the subject of religion. Ferdinand, his brother, was chosen emperor in his stead.

On the 12th September, 1555, sundry commissioners from the queen, together with a sub-delegate from the pope, went to Oxford to judge Cranmer. When he appeared before them, he made a low reverence to those who sat in the queen's name, but refused any homage to the pope's delegate, inasmuch as he thought that would be paying respect to the pope. They made sundry speeches, charging him with heresy; after which, he kneeled down and said the Lord's prayer; next, he repeated the creed; then he told them he never would acknowledge the bishop of Rome's authority; declaring, that the bishops of Rome had made laws contrary to those of God—as, causing worship to be in an unknown tongue; denying the chalice to the people; pretending to dis-

pose of crowns; and exalting themselves above every creature; all which proved them to be anti-Christs, since all was contrary to the doctrine of Christ. In conclusion, they cited him to appear before the pope within eighty days, to answer to the charges brought against him. This, he said, he was most willing to do, if the king and queen would allow it, but they detained him a prisoner.

He was sent back to his confinement, where he lay until the 14th February, 1556, when Bonner and Thirleby were sent to degrade him. In this task Bonner delighted; and he performed it with much insult. Thirleby wept, and declared it was the most sorrowful action of his life, he having been formerly a friend of Cranmer. To Cranmer himself, it was no affliction.

Now new engines were contrived against him. We have, heretofore, seen him, like David, valiant for the truth; but we are called to contemplate him, like David, falling; and to behold, in him, another instance of the infirmity of poor human nature.

Many, both English and Spanish divines, had been sent to confer with him, and persuade him to recant. Hopes of life and pre-

ferment were given. At length, he was removed out of prison, to the dean's lodgings at Christ's church. All the arguments that could be invented were made use of to turn him; and, in conclusion, as St. Peter himself with curses denied his Saviour, so he, who had resisted now almost three years, was, at last, overcome; and human infirmity, the fears of death, and the hopes held forth, prevailed him to set his hand to a paper renouncing all the doctrines of the reformation, and acknowledging all the abominations of popery. This paper, which was as full as his enemies desired, they giving him no rest till he had completed it to their will, was immediately printed; and it occasioned, on the one hand, great insulting, and, on the other, great dejection. But the queen was not at all wrought upon by it. She now manifested, what she had before disowned, that her private resentments governed her in this affair; and, that the man who pronounced the judgment of divorce, must, at all hazards, be destroyed. She resolved that he should be burnt. The writ for burning was issued the 24th February. The long time that elapsed, previous to the execution, makes it not improbable that this writ

was made use of in first inducing him to recant: certain it is, that, when the second order was sent to Oxford, forbidding any longer delay, he was, with the death then threatening him if he refused, persuaded to renew in full his recantation. He did thus renew it; but, at the same time, he was jealous that his enemies intended to burn him, and he secretly prepared a paper containing a true confession of his faith, such as flowed from his conscience, and not from his weak fears. His fate being fixed, notwithstanding all promises, he was carried to St. Marie's church, and placed on a platform where he might be conspicuous. Cole, provost of Eaton, preached a sermon, during which was announced the fact that Cranmer was that day to suffer. At the close, he turned to Cranmer, and magnified his conversion, attributing it to the immediate hand of God. He gave him great hopes of Heaven, and assured him there should be dirges and masses said for his soul, in all the churches of Oxford.

During all this, Cranmer expressed great inward confusion; lifting up his eyes often to Heaven, and then letting them fall downward, as one ashamed of himself. Frequently he

poured forth floods of tears. At length, when Cole bid him declare his faith, he first prayed with many moving expressions of deep remorse and inward horror; then he made his exhortation to the people, “not to love or set their hearts on the things of this world: to obey the king and queen out of conscience to God: to live in mutual love; and to relieve the poor according to their abundance. Then he came to that on which, he said, all his past life, and that which was to come, did hang—he being now to enter either into the joys of Heaven, or the pains of Hell. He repeated the apostles’ creed, and declared his belief of the scriptures. Then he spake of that which he said troubled his conscience more than any thing he had done in his whole life, which was the subscribing a paper contrary to the truth, and against his conscience, out of the fear of death, and the love of life; and, he said, he was resolved, when he came to the fire, that that hand which had signed it, should burn first. He rejected the pope as Christ’s enemy and anti-Christ, and said he had the same belief of the sacrament which he had published in the book he wrote about it.”

Upon this, there was a wonderful confusion

in the whole assembly. Those who hoped to have gained a great victory on that day, seeing themselves discomfited, were in much disorder. They called to him to dissemble no more. He said he had ever loved simplicity, and, before his recantation, had never dissembled in his whole life. He was going on in his discourse, with abundance of tears, but they pulled him down and led him away to the stake. It stood in the same place where Ridley and Latimer were burnt. All the way the priests upbraided him for his changing, but he was minding another thing.

When he came to the stake, he first prayed, and then undressed himself, and, being tied to it, as the fire was kindling, he stretched forth his right hand toward the flame, never moving it, save that once he wiped his face, till it was burnt away. It was consumed before the fire reached his body. Here he discovered, that, if, like David, he sinned, like David also he repented. He expressed no disorder at the pain he endured: sometimes saying, "That unworthy hand;" and oft crying out, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit!" He was soon after quite burnt, except his heart, which was found whole among the ashes!

Thus, on the 21st March, 1556, died Thomas Cranmer, in the 67th year of his age. He was a man raised of God for great services, and well fitted for them. He was naturally of a mild and gentle temper, not soon heated, nor apt to give his opinion rashly of things or persons. Though his gentleness exposed him to the ill usage of his enemies, who well knew he would forgive them, it did not lead him into such a weakness of spirit as to consent to every thing that was uppermost, for he stood firmly against the six articles in the reign of Henry, notwithstanding all that king's heat for them; he opposed the duke of Somerset and the duke of Northumberland, in the days of king Edward; and now resisted unto blood, giving his hand to the flame with the utmost resolution; so that his meekness was, as all true meekness is, a virtue, and not a pusillanimity of temper. He was a man of great candour. He never dissembled his opinion, nor disowned his friend—two rare qualities in an age when the whole English nation appeared to be going backward and forward, like a wave of the sea, as the court directed. He stood by queen Anne, and Cromwell, and the duke

of Somerset, in their lowest fortunes; and saved Mary herself from the rage of her father. His diligence was wonderful. He drew out of all the authors that he read, every thing remarkable, digesting these quotations into common places. Often did king Henry test him in this respect; and, whenever he applied to him for the opinions of the fathers and doctors on any particular subject, Cranmer usually furnished them in two or three days. He laid out all his wealth on the poor, and for pious uses. He had hospitals and surgeons in his house, for the king's seamen. He gave pensions to many of the reformers who fled from Germany to England; and kept up that which is hospitality indeed at his table, inviting great numbers of his honest and poor neighbours, instead of having the luxury and extravagance of great entertainments. He was so humble and affable, that he carried himself, in all conditions, in the same manner. His last fall was the only blemish of his life, but it was succeeded by a sincere repentance, and a patient martyrdom. He had been the chief promoter of the reformation in his life, and God so ordered it, that he gave no small confirmation to all who had received his doctrine, by the con-

stancy with which he sealed that doctrine with his blood.

King Henry was full of the opinion that Cranmer would at last die a martyr, and, therefore, directed him to change the arms of his family from cranes to pelicans; intimating thereby, that, as the pelican fed her young with her blood, so he would give his blood for the good of the church.

The day after Cranmer's martyrdom, Pool was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. He appears to have been too anxious for Cranmer's death, insomuch that the words of Elijah to Ahab were applied to him—"Thou hast killed and taken possession."

## CHAPTER XIV.

The lame and the blind burnt—Conduct of the Reformers—Their meetings—Their faithful shepherds—The refugees at Frankfort—Origin of differences—The bodies of Bucer and Fagius burnt—Inquisition projected—Burnings continued—Pool opposes them in vain—Martial law proclaimed against heretics—None might say, God help the martyrs—Bonner's cruelty—Protestants in France—Mary's death—Pool's death.

WE have almost arrived at the end of this career of blood, and we may begin to perceive a reason why Divine Providence permitted it. The attachment of the people of England to popery was of so long continuance, and so deeply rooted, that it was, by no means, easy to eradicate. The acts of Henry were so contradictory, that he left the nation much distracted. And, though a more consistent course was carried on during the reign of Edward, and more powerful means were brought to operate, still, the influence of the priests continued great; the body of the people had not

been well instructed; competent teachers, in sufficient number, could not be obtained; the magnificence of the Roman ceremonial was pleasing to the multitude: so that the reformation was continually in danger. The reign of Mary was wanting to establish it. She burnt up all attachment to popery, in the fires that consumed the martyrs, and thoroughly purged the nation of all hankering after the tender mercies of Rome.—*Surely the wrath of man shall praise thee: the remainder of wrath shalt thou restrain.*

Many were burnt in the course of 1556: among others, a cripple and a blind man, who comforted each other with the hope that they were now to be freed from their lameness and blindness. Bonner seemed to think it not worth while to burn the heretics singly, but sent them in droves to the stake.

But, all the fury of persecution did not extinguish the light of the reformation, nor abate the love of it. It rose, like a phœnix, ever fresh from the ashes. The martyrs were compared to the primitive Christians, who, bishops and all, suffered under the heathen emperors. Those who loved the gospel met oft together, though obliged to use great

caution and secrecy. Sometimes, however, as many as two hundred assembled. They were instructed and watched over, by several faithful shepherds, who were willing to hazard their lives in feeding the flock committed to their charge. The chief of these were Scambler and Bentham, afterwards promoted, by Elizabeth, to the bishoprics of Peterborough and Litchfield; Foule, Berner, and Rough, a Scotchman, who was condemned and burnt by Bonner. Care, too, was taken by their friends beyond sea, to supply them with good books, for their instruction and encouragement. These friends were, the reformed, who, on the accession of Mary, had fled to France; and, not finding freedom of conscience there, had gone to Geneva, Zurich, and Anau, in Switzerland, and to Strasburgh, Frankfort, and Emden, in Germany.

Among the refugees at Frankfort, unfortunate differences arose, which laid the foundations of subsequent divisions in England. Some, who had been in the habit of using the English liturgy at home, thought that, while they continued in foreign lands, they ought to use the liturgy of the country where they sojourned; and hence, instead of their

own, adopted, for the time, a liturgy similar to the Geneva and French forms. Others were of opinion, that, as those in England who compiled the liturgy, were confirming what they had done with their blood, it was a contempt of them, and of their sufferings, to depart from their forms. This dissention, like all others, went farther than was at first intended; for, those who were merely for exchanging the English for the Genevan liturgy while they were abroad, began, at length, to quarrel with some things in the English liturgy itself. Knox, being a man of hot temper, engaged in this dispute warmly, and procured his friend Calvin, to write against those obnoxious parts. Knox himself was banished by the senate of Frankfort, for writing indecently of the emperor; whereupon he and his party went to Geneva. Another difficulty arose on the subject of discipline; some of the people wishing to take the punishment of offenders out of the hands of the ministers, and share it among the whole congregation. These things caused much scandal, and they prove indeed that the treasure is in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of man.

The monastery of Westminster, and many other new religious houses, were founded in England.

In the beginning of 1557, there was a visitation of the universities. The visitors to Cambridge laid the churches of St. Marie's and St. Michael's under an interdict, because the bodies of Bucer and Fagius, two heretics, were buried in them. This great evil it was determined to remove; therefore, the two bodies were cited to appear, or, if any would come in their name, they were required to defend them. After three citations, the dead bodies not rising to speak for themselves, and none coming to plead for them, for fear of being sent after them, the visitors thought fit to proceed. Having examined many witnesses, to prove the heresies of Bucer and Fagius, they judged them obstinate heretics, and decreed that their bodies should be taken out of holy ground and delivered to the secular power. A writ being brought from London on the 6th February, their bodies were taken up, carried in coffins, and tied to stakes, with many of their books, and other heretical writings, and all were burnt together. A similar farce was played at Oxford, where the

body of Peter Martyr's wife was taken up, and buried in a dunghill. These bones, however, were collected in the days of Elizabeth, and mingled with the bones of a popish saint, that they might be secured from all future insult.

Great complaints were made, that, the inferior magistrates throughout England, were not sufficiently active in searching for heretics; nay, that many were disposed to harbour them, insomuch that their number rather increased than diminished. In consequence of this, letters were written to some of the towns, directing them to choose zealous Catholics for their mayors, but all in vain. New counsels, therefore, were taken.

And now the dark features of popery began to show themselves in still bolder relief. Nothing less than the inquisition appeared in view. This grand engine of Satan, which was first set up in Tholouse to extirpate the Albigenses, and, afterwards, introduced into Spain to discover the Moors, had lately been found a most effectual means of preserving the Romish faith among the Spaniards; and, in consequence, the pope was anxious for its establishment throughout Christendom. The

question about erecting it in England, began to be agitated. Some openly advised it, and, in February, 1557, a commission was issued to a considerable number of persons, empowering them, or any three of them, by any means they thought best, to search for and punish all heretics. Every thing was surrendered to their discretion, and they were at liberty to summon before them, as witnesses, whomsoever they chose. This was paving the way, if no more.

In every direction throughout the country the burnings continued. Pool endeavoured to allay the rage of Bonner, but in vain. He succeeded, however, in saving twenty-two who were brought up from Colchester. As these were led through the streets of London, the people manifested the strongest sympathy; about a thousand following them. In the course of 1557, seventy-nine received the crown of martyrdom.

The pope, jealous of Pool, sought to destroy him, but the queen interceded, and he remained legate.

Great discontents prevailed in England on account of political errors. Calais having been taken by the French, the people com-

plained, that, the queen had thrown the government into the hands of priests, who knew nothing of war, and cared not for the honour of the nation.

Still did the burnings continue. One man was put to the rack to make him discover who attended the private assemblies. A proclamation was issued, subjecting all to martial law who read heretical or treasonous books. In Smithfield, it was proclaimed that none should pray for those who were about to be burnt, nor speak to them, nor say God help them. Bonner, not satisfied with burning, scourged some with rods, till he was weary. Many died in bonds, and many were vexed with long and grievous imprisonment. At length, the people began to hate popery beyond all expression.

One man, on the fire touching him, cried out, "I recant," and was released from the stake; but he was afterwards burnt, so that the object appeared to be, not so much the conversion as the destruction of heretics.

In France, as well as in England, the protestants had become very numerous, notwithstanding persecution; insomuch, that, in the public walks of Paris, without the suburbs of

St. Germain, they began to sing David's psalms in French verse. The novelty of this amazed many, and the devotion wrought upon others, so that the multitude who used to divert themselves in those fields, instead of their ordinary sports, did nothing, for many nights, but go about singing psalms. The king and queen of Navarre joined with them. An edict was published against this psalmody, but it still continued.

Mary drew near her end. On the 17th November, 1558, in the 43d year of her age, she departed from time to eternity, after having reigned five years, four months, and eleven days.

She was a woman of a morbid temperament, and became very sour and morose. She understood the Latin language, and had considerable learning. She was indeed devoted to the papacy, and appeared to think her chief business in this world was to extirpate heretics.

Sixteen hours after the queen, died cardinal Pool, in the 59th year of his age. He was a learned and good natured man, and, had his policy been allowed to rule, he would, undoubtedly, have done much toward establish-

ing popery in England; but God designed better things, and, therefore, he gave up the queen to the bloody counsels of Gardiner and the rest of the clergy.

## CHAPTER XV.

Accession of Elizabeth—Reformation resolved upon and begun—Parker chosen archbishop of Canterbury—His great modesty—Coronation—Reformation established by parliament—Papists allowed the exercise of their religion—Popish clergy who chose to retire, pensioned—Parker's letters—His consecration—Fable of the nag's head ordination—Reformation completely settled.

IMMEDIATELY on the death of Mary, Elizabeth was proclaimed queen, to the universal joy of the nation. On her way to London, she was met by the bishops. “She expressed to all of them sentiments of regard, except to Bonner, from whom she turned aside, as from a man polluted with blood, who was a just subject of horror to every heart susceptible of humanity.”

The reformation of religion came at once under consideration. The queen had been trained up in a hatred of popery, but she had

received impressions in favour of such old rites as her father had retained; moreover, she loved state and magnificence; therefore, she inclined to a sort of half-reformation. She thought Cranmer and his colleagues, in the days of king Edward, had disrobed religion of external ornaments too much, and had made their doctrine too narrow in some points. She wished a few things explained in more general terms, such as, Christ's presence in the sacrament, &c. Moreover, she was disposed to keep images in the churches.\* Her object appeared to be to please both parties, and carry the whole nation with her, papists as well as protestants. But, blessed be God, her plans did not prevail.

The result of the consultation on the subject was, that, the alterations intended to be made, should be brought about gradually, and

\* “It is probable, that, whatever favour the queen may have been disposed to show to images in the beginning, it was the result of an acknowledged maxim of the first years of her reign, to conciliate the more moderate of the Roman Catholics. For we find from Strype’s Annals, that some time after her discharging of the images, at the instance of archbishop Parker, and Cox, bishop of Ely, she expressed great dislike even at a common Prayer Book with pictures; and said expressly to dean Nowell, who laid the book upon her cushion,—‘You know I have an aversion to idolatry, to images and pictures of this kind.’”

that, in the mean time, the way should be paved for them as surely as possible. The pope and the priests were disposed to embroil the nation, and it was thought necessary to use some caution.

Several learned men were appointed to meet and consider the book of service; and, to encourage the people with the hope of reformation, it was resolved that the communion should be administered in both kinds.

As soon as Elizabeth's coming to the crown was known, all who had fled to foreign countries returned, and those who had lived in secret corners came forth. Many, having notice of the queen's intentions, could not contain themselves, but began immediately to pull down images, and set up king Edward's service. Perceiving this, she made a more full discovery of her wishes, and gave order that the gospels and epistles, the Lord's prayer, the apostles' creed, the ten commandments, and the litany, should be used in English; and, at the same time, forbade the priests to elevate the host at mass: after which, she made proclamation against all unauthorized changes, and required her subjects to use no other forms of worship than those established in

her chapel, until parliament should appoint otherwise.

On the 5th December, the queen performed her sister's funeral rites with much magnificence.

Great anxiety existed as to the choice of persons to fill the vacant bishoprics. Parker was selected for the see of Canterbury, but there was much difficulty in persuading him to accept. He was a man of an humble temper, and loved privacy. He begged that he might not be thought of for any public employment, as the infirmities contracted by flying about in the nights in queen Mary's time had very much disabled him. But, he had been chaplain to Ann Boleyn, and, at her request, had instructed Elizabeth in the principles of the Christian religion. The queen had now a grateful remembrance of his services, and, moreover, Bacon, the chancellor, had a high opinion of him; so that it was determined to overcome his modesty, and, after nearly a year's importunity, he yielded.

On the 12th January, 1559, Elizabeth was crowned. As she went into her chariot, she lifted up her eyes to Heaven, and blessed God, who had preserved her to see that joyful day,

and saved her, as he did the prophet Daniel out of the mouth of the lions. She acknowledged that her deliverance was only from him, and to him she offered all the praise. She passed through London in great triumph; all the way, by her winning and cheerful address, delighting the people. As she went under one of the triumphal arches, there was a rich Bible let down to her, as from Heaven, by a little child representing Truth. With great reverence, she kissed both her hands, and, receiving the Bible, kissed it, and laid it next her heart.\* This drew tears of joy from the eyes of the spectators.

On the 25th January, parliament met. Bacon opened it with a long speech. He exhorted them to consult about religion without heat or partiality, not to use any reproachful term, as papist or heretic, but, endeavour so to establish every thing, as that there might be a uniformity and a cordial agreement.

The first bill passed was for restoring the tenths and first fruits to the crown. Then followed sundry other bills, the amount of all

\* "She also," says Collier, "promised to read it, and returned the city more thanks for this present, than for all the rest of great value she had already received."

which were, making the state of religion similar to what it was in the days of king Edward, abolishing the power of the pope, and establishing the English service. The queen's supremacy was asserted, and a high commission court established for the execution of it.

But the popish clergy began every where to preach against innovation and heresy, insomuch that, early in March, the queen forbid all preaching, except by such as had license under the great seal.

A public conference on the subject of religion was, by order of the queen, held in the abbey church of Westminster. Nine protestants and nine papists were appointed to engage in it. A great concourse attended, and the conference continued for some time, until, at length, the papists refusing to proceed, it was broken up.

Some alterations were made in the communion service in the liturgy of king Edward, that it might express in more general terms the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament.

The popish bishops, refusing to take the oath of supremacy, were imprisoned for a short time, but soon released, except Bonner,

White, and Watson. Charges were preferred against all three of them, and those charges Elizabeth promised to attend to as soon as they should be substantiated. She appeared anxious to gain a little time, that the edge might be taken off men's spirits; for she was not disposed to proceed severely against any, being naturally merciful, and, moreover, taught by the gospel not to render evil for evil.

All the leading papists were allowed to go where they pleased, and those who chose to remain in England, were permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion. Most of the monks returned to a secular course of life, but the nuns went beyond sea.

Elizabeth continuing anxious to have images in the churches, all the reformed bishops and divines opposed it vehemently. At length, she yielded to their wish, and, in the injunctions sent forth, gave orders that they should be taken down.

By these injunctions, the common prayer book and litany were directed to be used in all churches on Wednesdays and Fridays. Slanderous words, as papist, heretic, schismatic, or sacramentary, were forbidden under

severe pains. All were directed to kneel during prayer, and to show reverence at the name of Jesus. As to the queen's supremacy, it was declared, that, she did not pretend to any authority for the ministering of divine service in the church, but, only to such a sovereignty or rule over all manner of persons, under God, as precluded the authority of every foreign power.

Bowing at the name of Jesus was deemed a suitable expression of reverence, manifesting an acknowledgment of him as the Saviour, and an owning his Divinity.

Commissions were issued for visiting all the churches in England, in order to establish the new book of service, and, in general, to carry into effect the newly adopted regulations. It was directed, that, pensions should be reserved for such clergymen as would not continue in their benefices, but left them by resignation. Those found in prison on account of their religion were to be discharged, and, all such as had been unlawfully turned out in the late reign were to be restored to their cures. Unworthy clergymen were to be deprived, and others put in their places, and such as were obstinate were to be tried.

When the visitors made their report to the queen, it was found that, out of nine thousand four hundred beneficed men in England, only fourteen bishops and one hundred and seventy-five others, resigned their livings on account of their religion.

Mention was made of the unwillingness of Parker to accept the see of Canterbury. His letters and his conduct breathe such a primitive spirit, that they deserve a more particular account. Addressing the chancellor on the subject, he wrote thus: "It is necessary to fill that see with a man that is neither arrogant, faint-hearted, nor covetous. An arrogant man would, perhaps, divide from his brethren in doctrine, whereas, the whole strength of the church depends on our unity; but if there should be heart-burnings among us, and the private quarrels that have been beyond sea, should be brought home, the peace of the church will be lost, and the success of all our designs will be blasted: and if a faint-hearted man be put in, it will raise the spirits of all our adversaries. A covetous man is good for nothing. I know my own unfitness, both of mind and body, so well, that, though I should be sorry to offend you and secretary Cecil,

whom I honour above all men in the world, and more sorry to displease the queen, yet I must above all things, avoid God's indignation, and not enter into a station in which I know I cannot carry myself so as to answer it either to God or the world, for my administration. And if I must go to prison for my obstinate untowardness, [with which, it seems, they had threatened him,] I will suffer it rather with a quiet conscience, than accept of an employment which I cannot discharge."

"I know I cannot answer your expectation, which makes me so importunate not to be raised so high. I have great apprehensions of differences like to fall out among ourselves, which will be a pleasant diversion to those of the church of Rome. I see some men are men still, even after all their teaching in the school of affliction."

At length, however, being pressed beyond measure, he wrote to the queen, "protesting that extreme necessity forced him to trouble her, both out of conscience to God, and regard to her service: he knew his great unworthiness for so high a function; therefore, as on his knees, he humbly besought her to discharge him of that office, which did re-

quire a man of more learning, virtue, and experience, than he perfectly knew was in himself. He lamented his being so meanly qualified that he could not serve her in that high station; but in any other inferior office he should be ready to discharge his duty to her in such a place as was suitable to his infirmities." But, in the conclusion, he submitted himself to her pleasure; and, at last, with great difficulty, he was prevailed upon to accept.

On the 17th December, 1559, he was consecrated in the chapel at Lambeth, by four bishops, viz. Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins; according to the book of ordination made in the reign of king Edward.

Having been thus consecrated himself, Parker afterwards consecrated bishops for the vacant sees, and, among the rest, Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, the great ornament of his age for learning and piety.

>About forty years after this, a foolish story was set afloat, that Parker was not truly consecrated, and a miserable fable created by one Neale, who had been chaplain to Bonner, about what was called the nag's head ordination. This notion was not thought of during

<sup>See Peccival in Ap. Sacr. 102, 127, 129,</sup>  
who proves the validity of the consecratio-

the reign of Elizabeth, or the enemies of the reformation would undoubtedly have spread it abroad. But it pleased God that, when the story was invented, there was one witness living able to contradict it, viz. the earl of Nottingham, who saw the consecration. Nor was this all, for the registers of the see of Canterbury, and the records of the crown, being examined into, fully set the question at rest, and declared the validity of the consecration. Moreover, the original instrument of archbishop Parker's consecration, still lies among his other papers in the library of Corpus Christi college at Cambridge. The object in forging this tale, undoubtedly was to assault the validity of ordinations in the church of England, by endeavouring to show that the chain of descent from the days of the apostles had been broken, but, like slanders in general, it ended in nothing but the confusion of its authors.

Thus were the sees filled, the worship reformed, and the queen's injunctions sent over England. Three things remained to be done, viz. setting forth the doctrine of the church, translating the Bible and publishing it with

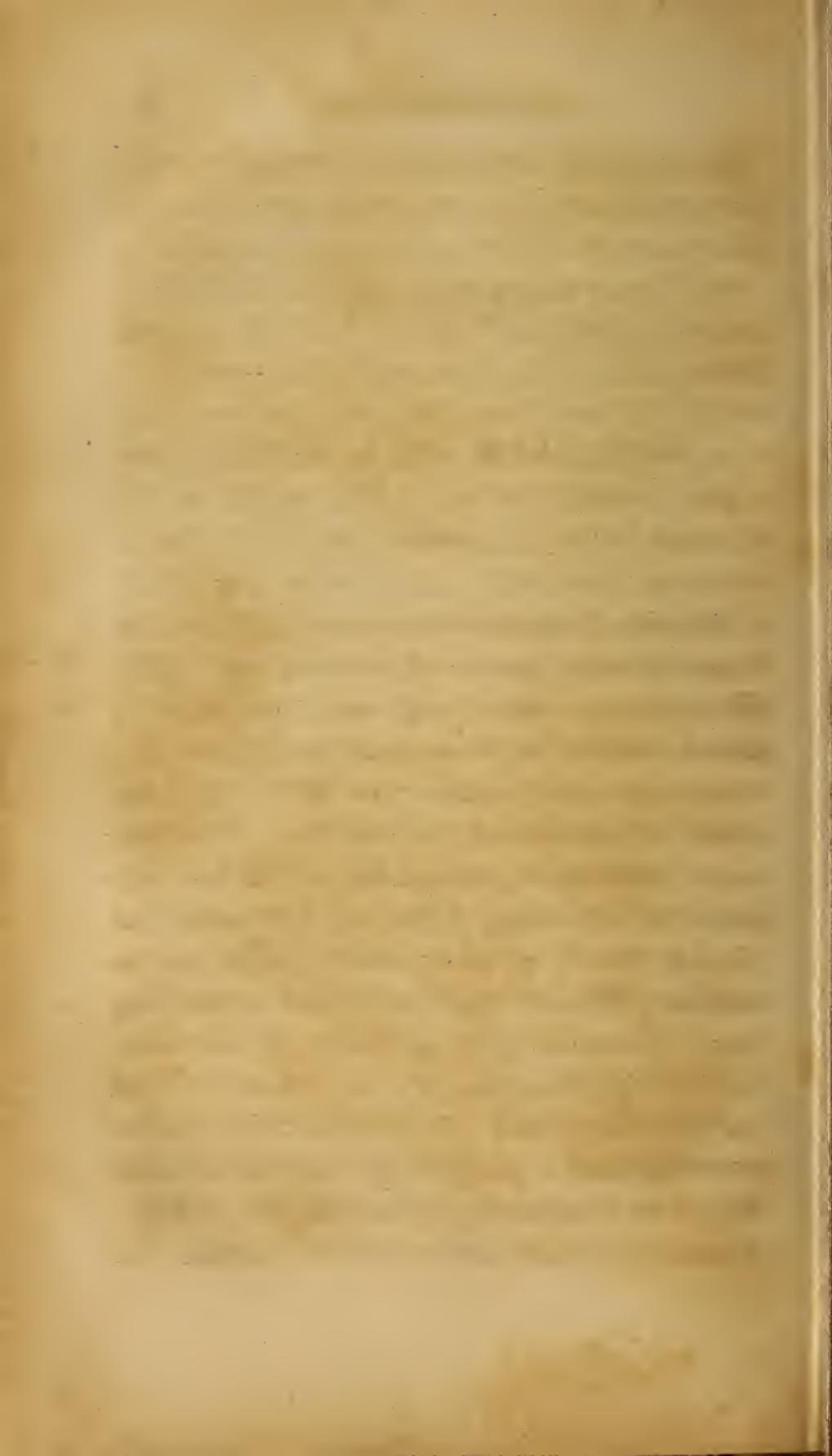
short notes, and regulating the ecclesiastical courts. About these the bishops set to work.

The articles proposed were the same with those of the days of king Edward, except some slight alterations, especially leaving the doctrine of the real presence untouched. The bishops prepared a confutation of it, but the queen and the council appear to have dashed it out. The translation of the Bible was committed to sundry bishops and others, a portion being assigned to each. The first impression of it is supposed to have been published in 1561. As for the canons and rules of church government, they were not soon prepared. Some came out in the year 1571, and more in 1597. "But this part of the reformation is not yet finished, for penitentiary canons have not been set up, and the government of the church is not yet brought into the hands of churchmen."

And thus was the light of truth made to shine once more over England.

Unfortunately, the heats that had been engendered beyond sea, during the reign of Mary, caused, at length, some divisions at home. A few sparks had been kindled in

king Edward's reign, about clergymen's habits; but these were buried in the ashes of Hooper and Ridley. However, they broke forth again, and manifested themselves in objections against the vestments of the inferior clergy, and, at length, against bishops. These differences were craftily managed by some, who were anxious to improve them to obtaining a division of the church lands, and, for the sins of the nation, they were allowed to continue.



**SKETCH**  
OR  
**THE LIFE OF LUTHER.**

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MARTIN LUTHER, was born at Isleben, in Upper Saxony, on the 10th November, 1483. His father, a respectable man, originally a miner, but afterward a magistrate, gave him a liberal education, with a view to his entering upon the practice of the civil law. Wrought upon, however, by means of one of his intimate friends being killed at his side, and himself struck to the earth, by lightning, he suddenly formed the resolution of retiring from the world; and, in 1505, he entered a convent of Augustine friars. Here he met, for the first in his life, with a Latin Bible, which poured a flood of light upon his mind. He arrived, especially, at a knowledge of justification by faith; a doctrine almost buried in

the rubbish of Roman observances. In 1507, he was ordained priest; and, in 1508, having acquired a great reputation for learning and piety, he became professor in the university of Wittemburgh, recently founded by the elector Frederick of Saxony. In 1510, he was sent to Rome on business of his order. While there, he was filled with horror at the levity of that venal court. On his return, he was created doctor of divinity, at the expense of Frederick, who had become much attached to him. His progress in learning continued great. His progress in evangelical knowledge kept pace with it. In 1516, he wrote thus to a friend: "I desire to know what your soul is doing; whether, wearied, at length, of its own righteousness, it learns to refresh itself, and to rest in the righteousness of Christ." His lectures on theology, in which, contrary to the usual practice, he expounded several of the sacred books, increased his knowledge of the truth, as well as prepared the minds of others for its reception.

In 1517, John Tetzel, a Dominican friar, came to the neighbourhood of Wittemburgh to proclaim indulgences. These were granted by pope Leo 10th, and extended to all man-

ner of sins. Every one who would pay a certain sum of money was granted absolution for himself, and deliverance from purgatory for the souls of his friends. The style of these indulgences ran thus—"I, by the authority of Jesus Christ, through the merits of his most holy passion, and by the authority of his blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and of our most holy pope, delegated to me as commissioner, do absolve thee; first, from all ecclesiastical censures, however incurred; secondly, from all sins committed by thee, however enormous; for so far the keys of the sacred church extend; and I do this, by remitting to thee all the punishments due to thee in purgatory on account of thy crimes; and I restore thee to the innocence and purity in which thou wast when baptized, so that the gates of punishment may be shut to thee when dying, and the gates of Paradise be opened." In the discharge of his commission, Tetzel was extremely unblushing, boasting that he had saved more souls from Hell by his indulgences, than St. Peter had converted to Christianity by his preaching, saying—"The moment the money tinkles in the chest, your father's soul mounts up out of purgatory." And, such was their

blind submission to Rome, the people believed him. Luther, though profound in his respect for the pope, was shocked at this blasphemy. Seeing the multitudes crowding to procure indulgences, he preached against them. He also wrote to Albert, archbishop of Magdeburgh, who, by authority of the pope, had employed Tetzel; and he affixed a thesis, containing ninety-five propositions, to the church of Wittemburgh, in which he challenged the friends of this unholy traffic to come forward and defend it. No opponent appeared; but his thesis was spread throughout Germany, and read with the greatest avidity. All were astonished at the intrepidity of a Saxon monk in questioning the infallibility of his holiness, and opposing the Dominicans, who were armed with the terrors of the inquisition.

Though Tetzel did not meet Luther in disputation, he anathematized him as a damnable heretic, burnt his thesis with marks of ignominy, and published one hundred propositions in favour of indulgences. In these he maintained, "The man who buys off his own sins by indulgences, merits more than he who gives alms to the poor, unless it be in extreme necessity." "The ministers of the church

do not barely declare men's sins forgiven, but do really pardon them by virtue of the sacraments, and by the power of the keys."

Luther, having no idea of contending against the pope, but merely designing to question the propriety of indulgences, submitted his thesis to several persons high in ecclesiastical office for correction, and himself for advice; but he found no man like minded.

He continued to write and to preach, and many rallied around him. Prierias of Rome, and Eckius of Ingolstadt, assaulted him with great violence, but he answered them. At the same time, he wrote to his diocesan, saying he did not determine, but dispute, according to the liberty allowed to scholars. He also desired Staupitius, his vicar-general, to transmit his "trifling writings" to the pope, that they might speak for him, and show he was not assaulting his holiness. "Not (says he) that I would involve you in my dangers. I desire alone to stand the shock of the contest. Let Christ see to it whether the cause be mine or his. To the kind admonitions of my friends, who would warn me of danger, my answer is, the poor man has no fears; I protest, that property, reputation, and honours, shall all be of

no estimation with me, compared with the defence of truth. I have only a frail body to lose, and that weighed down with constant fatigue. If, in obedience to God, I lose it through violence or fraud, what is the loss of a few hours of life? **SUFFICIENT FOR ME IS THE LOVELY REDEEMER AND ADVOCATE, MY LORD JESUS CHRIST, TO WHOSE PRAISE I WILL SING AS LONG AS I LIVE.**"

"Every true Christian," said Luther, "may become partaker of the grace of Christ, without pontifical indulgences. A Christian may glory that in Christ he has all things; that all the righteousness and merits of Christ are his own, by virtue of that spiritual union with him, which he has by faith: on the other hand, that all his sins are no longer his, but that Christ, through the same union, bears the burden of them."

For a long time pope Leo could not be persuaded to pay any attention to Luther. "Brother Martin," said he, "is a man of a very fine genius, and these squabbles are the mere effusions of monastic envy." At length, however, he became alarmed; for, from all quarters, complaints of the spreading heresy rang in his ears. "The craft is in danger! The

craft is in danger!" echoed in every direction. He cited Luther to appear at Rome within sixty days. Luther sent this citation to the elector Frederick, praying him to interpose and procure the translation of the trial to Germany. Leo consented, and deputed his legate Cajetan, then at Augsburgh, to take cognizance of it; at the same time, directing him to publish against Luther and his adherents all the anathemas of the church, if he refused to recant.

Luther repaired to Augsburgh, being defended by the safe conduct of the emperor, procured for him by his protector Frederick. At the first interview he prostrated himself before the cardinal, and was courteously received. He was required to abjure his errors, and avoid disturbing the peace of the church. His chief crime was stated to be opposing indulgences. Cajetan wielded against him the bull of pope Clement 6th, which said, "One drop of Christ's blood being sufficient to redeem the whole human race, the remaining quantity that was shed in the garden and upon the cross, was left as a legacy to the church, to be a treasure from whence indulgences were to be drawn, and administered by the

Roman pontiffs." This weapon Luther met with the sword of scripture. Finding him firm, Cajetan became violent. At length, Luther, understanding the legate intended seizing and carrying him to Rome, notwithstanding the safe conduct of the emperor, escaped from Augsбурgh; not, however, until he had exhausted all attempts at argument, and appealed from the legate to the pope, and even from the pope himself "ill-informed, to the same most holy Leo 10th better informed."

Leo answered this appeal by publishing a bull, confirming still more entirely the doctrine of indulgences. Luther repaired to Wittemburgh, where he remained under the protection of Frederick, discharging his duties in the university, and preaching as usual.

Rome, finding its thunders ineffectual, had recourse next to negotiation. Charles Miltitz, a Saxon knight, was sent as nuncio. He presented to Frederick the golden consecrated rose, a peculiar mark of the pope's favour, in high estimation. The elector had formerly desired this bauble, but he now received it with great indifference. The nuncio had also several interviews with Luther, the result of

which was, that the reformer should write a submissive letter to the pope. To this Luther consented; because, arriving at the knowledge of the truth only by degrees, he was not yet convinced that the pope was a mere usurper.

Eckius, proud of his ability, challenged Carolstadt, an adherent of Luther, to a public disputation at Leipsic, and, eventually, summoned to the lists the reformer himself. Eckius affirmed, as one proposition, "That the pontiffs are vicars of Christ, and successors of St. Peter." Upon this subject Luther had no wish to contend, but, as it was introduced by his adversary, he was led to examine it, and the result was, that he began to doubt the foundation of the papacy. He maintained in dispute, that, the pope held not his power by Divine, but by human right. Writing to a friend at this time, he stated the impression he was beginning to receive, that the pope was the anti-Christ mentioned in scripture, an impression which afterwards ripened to complete conviction. In his conference with Eckius, Luther gained great honour for his abundant learning and strong powers of intellect.

From Leipsic he returned to his darling employ of instructing youth in divinity, and preaching the gospel. He lamented that he was obliged to spend so many hours in what he called "frivolous discussions about indulgences and pontifical authority." Little did he think how important would be their consequences. His publications were circulated more and more, and read with avidity by all ranks of men. Eckius and others answered the heretic, as they called him, with great heat, but he replied. His own temper was extremely choleric, but he had much tenderness of conscience, and a sincere desire to know the truth.

In the close of the year 1519, Luther began to preach and to publish concerning the propriety of administering the sacrament in both kinds. This increased the fury of his adversaries. The elector's court, as they had repeatedly done before, exhorted him to moderation. His reply was—"Let us in faith and prayer commit the event to God, and we shall be safe. For what can our adversaries do? Will they murder us? They cannot do that twice. Will they asperse us as heretics? Was not Christ treated as a malefactor?"

It is extremely interesting to contemplate this great reformer, contending, single-handed, against the whole empire of Rome, entrenched as he was amid her ten thousand doctors; and armed as she was with all the fury of the temporal power: at the same moment, breasting the whole volley of the Vatican, resolving the doubts of a timid multitude, who had been nursed at the bosom of superstition, and gaining for himself new degrees of necessary knowledge. *It is the Lord's doing, and marvellous in our eyes.*

In his letter to Leo, written in 1520, Luther compared the court of Rome to a den of thieves, but expressed great respect for his holiness, and exhorted him to separate himself from the corruptions with which he was surrounded.

Still continuing to write, Luther published a treatise on Christian liberty, and another on the necessity of a reformation in the church. In this he declared the pope fallible, and exhorted the people to make a stand against his encroachments. He also published a work concerning the Babylonish captivity. He styled the papacy the kingdom of Babylon. His doctrines became more and

more popular. The number of students at Wittemburgh increased. Multitudes flocked to hear him preach. *The word of the Lord had free course, and was glorified.*

At length, on the 15th June, 1520, the pope issued a bull of excommunication against Luther, commanding all persons to seize and deliver him to the secular power, and ordering his writings to be burnt. Luther appealed from this to a general council; and, moreover, he publicly burnt the bull, together with the volumes of decretals and canon law, thus declaring that he was no longer subject to pontifical jurisdiction. He also published a work, showing, by extracts from those volumes, that the pope was anti-Christ.

The elector condemned the severe proceedings of the pope, and the emperor, Charles 5th, to whom Luther had previously written for protection, deferred the consideration of the whole matter to the diet to be assembled at Worms, in 1521.

Improving the interval previous to the meeting of the diet, Luther published continually, treatise after treatise, as, expositions of the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, the epistles and gospels, &c. He drew largely

from the word of God, deeming that the most legitimate weapon with which to combat error. Germany became illuminated by the portions of scripture scattered in his writings. "It was like letting in light upon moles and bats," for the Bible had been for centuries locked up from the majority.

Previous to the meeting of the diet, much intrigue was used by the emissaries of the pope against Luther, but, at length, the emperor granted him a safe conduct. He repaired to Worms against the solicitations of many of his friends, saying, "Christ lives, and I will enter Worms, though all the gates of Hell and all the powers of darkness oppose." On his arrival he was greeted with the respect and admiration of multitudes. As he stepped from his open vehicle, he exclaimed, in the presence of a prodigious concourse, "God will be on my side." Immense crowds flocked to see him, and his apartments were constantly filled with visitors of the highest rank. He was regarded as a prodigy of wisdom, born to enlighten mankind. Summoned before the diet, he defended himself with great readiness, animation, and firmness, but with all

due respect. He refused to recant any thing except the violent manner into which his warm temper had sometimes transported him. The assembly was divided. Charles sent in a premature sentence, but the princes continued their consultation. In the mean time, the greatest exertion was made, by many of the chief, to induce Luther to change his opinions, but he continued inflexible. The diet exhorted him to submit his writings to the judgment of the emperor and princes, but he contended for the word of God as sole umpire. Further attempts were made upon him in private, but all was in vain. At length, the emperor commanded him to leave Worms, allowing him twenty-one days to return home, but forbidding him to preach by the way. "This is the Lord's will," said Luther, "and blessed be the name of the Lord."

Seeing a bloody deed meditated, the elector caused Luther to be intercepted on his return home, by a party of horsemen, and conveyed to the castle of Warburgh, as a place of security.

At the close of the diet, the friends of the reformation having, by manœuvre, been in-

duced to leave Worms, and the most bigoted papists to remain, an edict was published condemning Luther in the most violent terms.

But edicts and bulls were alike ineffectual. The doctrines of Luther spread; his writings were translated into various languages, and lovers of the truth multiplied in every direction. In the mean time the reformer continued to write in his castle. He sent forth several works, as, one on the abuse of private confessions; another in favour of the marriage of the clergy, and several others. He also translated the New Testament, and improved his knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages, for the purpose of rendering his whole version of the Bible complete.

Hearing of disorders at Wittemburgh, as also of sundry enthusiastic notions in various parts of Germany, and discovering that, while, on the one hand, the followers of the truth were persecuted, on the other, the elector was acting an over-cautious part, Luther could no longer be persuaded to remain at Warburgh. He left his concealment in March, 1522, determined to hazard the consequences.

The best effects flowed from his return; order was restored, the enthusiasts were si-

lenced, and the reformation progressed. In 1522, Luther published his version of the New Testament. His version of the Old Testament followed a few years after.

Pope Adrian 6th, who succeeded Leo, addressed the diet at Nuremberg, repeating the condemnation of Luther, but, at the same time, acknowledging the corruptions of the Romish church in point of morals. The diet answered by entreating him to promote a reformation among the clergy, and to call a general council. Moreover, they drew up and sent to the pope, the Centum Gravamina, or list of one hundred grievances, under which the empire groaned.

The persecution of the Lutherans continued, and fearful storms gathered around both Frederick and the reformer, but they were dispersed.

Sweden and Denmark, instructed by disciples of Luther, received the truth. Gustavus Vasa protected the work in Sweden, translating and purifying the liturgy, and establishing reformed bishops.

It was a source of great sorrow to Luther that the bishops generally were, with the rest of the clergy, so corrupt. He held up to their

view the character of a bishop spoken of by Paul, and exhorted them to imitate it. He was particularly fond of John Thurzo, bishop of Breslaw, "of all the bishops of this age the best;" saying, moreover, "it is a lamentable truth, that there are now actually few such bishops, and, also, that there never existed a greater need of them."

Persecution raged with great ferocity in Hungary, Flanders, and several other places. Two were burnt at Brussels. They died singing in alternate response, *Te Deum Laudamus*.

A second attempt was made by the pope in 1523, to induce the diet of Nuremberg to execute the edict of Worms, but in vain. Promises were given to enforce it as far as possible, and the deputies reiterated their complaint of grievances, and their request for the calling a council, and they appointed an assembly to be held at Spires, for the purpose of making temporary regulation of the matters in dispute, until a council should decide.

Campeggio, the then legate, in order to secure a confederation of the friends of the pope,

procured a meeting of a number of princes and prelates at Ratisbon, in July, 1524. These bound themselves to execute rigorously the edict of Worms. In consequence of this, a much larger body of imperial deputies assembled at Spires, and declared themselves friendly to the Lutherans.

Luther thought not of his personal safety. He entrusted himself to God. But he rejoiced to see the progress of the truth. The landgrave of Hesse, and the marquis of Brandenburg, avowed themselves reformers; and Prussia, under the labours of the bishop of Samland and others, became entirely severed from Rome. Luther wrote to the bishop, and dedicated to him, as a dignified ecclesiastic, his commentary on the book of Deuteronomy.

In 1524, began a controversy among the reformers on the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist. In the same year occurred the war of the peasants, which resulted from many fanatical persons, and, especially, one Thomas Munzer, exciting the people against their magistrates. These caused Luther much trouble.

In May, 1525, died Frederick, elector of

Saxony, the faithful friend and defender of Luther. He was succeeded by his brother John. About the same time Luther was married to Catherine Bore, formerly a nun.

Having been previously attacked by king Henry VIII. and the university of Paris, both of whom he had answered, the reformer was, at length, called to contend with the learned Erasmus. This restorer of literature had long endeavoured to keep friends, as well with the papacy, as with its opposers; but, being earnestly persuaded by many great men—a class of persons for whom he had a profound veneration—he finally published a book against Luther. His subject was the freedom of the will. Luther answered by a volume on the bondage of the will. Erasmus became exasperated, and complained to the elector. He abused Luther in successive publications. The reformer himself was by no means delicate in his mode of treating his adversary.

In his answer to Henry VIII. he had written with needless acrimony, insomuch that that monarch was much incensed against him. Being persuaded that good might result from it, he wrote the king a conciliatory letter, ac-

knowledging his former heat, and exhorting his majesty to become the patron of pure religion. He wrote also to George, duke of Saxony, endeavouring to appease his wrath, which was incessantly persecuting the Lutherans. But neither of these letters produced any benefit. Henry and George both replied to him with virulence, insomuch that he resolved to have no more to do with supplicating letters. He laid down the following principles for the regulation of his future conduct, viz. “1. In all matters where the ministry of the word of God was not concerned, he would not only submit to his superiors, but was ready to beg pardon even of children. As a private man, he merited nothing but eternal destruction at the divine tribunal. But, 2dly, in regard to the ministry, for which he considered himself as having a commission from Heaven, there was so much dignity in it, that no man, especially a tyrant, should ever find him give way, submit, or flatter. Lastly, he besought his Heavenly Father to enable him to keep his resolution.” His profession was to teach the word of God; and, as no man ought to impose silence in that respect, so there was

a necessity that the word should continually be sounded in men's ears. It was useful for support, for consolation, for rebuke, and for the pulling down of strong holds. "In spite of kings and princes, in spite of the whole world and of Satan himself, I will never, with God's help, desert my station." He declared that he did not depend on human means. Christ was his shield, and the rock of his defence, in storms and tempests of every sort. It was much the same thing to him who deserted, or who stood firm to the cause. "Therefore, if any one disliked the business in which he was embarked, let him," said he, "tack about and run away. Whatever happened, he should constantly endeavour to make the best of the existing circumstances." "Who," he asked, "supported him in the beginning of this struggle, when he stood alone? And now he desired no one to take part with him, unless he did so voluntarily."

John, the new elector of Saxony, was different in character from his predecessor, Frederick; for, whereas Frederick, even while he defended Luther, endeavoured to retain the friendship of the papacy, and rather strove to

bring about a reconciliation of differences, than to promote a thorough reformation; John resolved to adopt all the doctrines and plans of Luther as his own, and became, to all intents and purposes, a complete reformer, so that, in the year 1525, the reformation was established in his dominions. In the same year it was established in many considerable towns throughout Germany.

Among other useful works circulated by Luther, he published a small volume of hymns, containing the substance of Christian doctrine, in the German language, with appropriate tunes annexed. This volume had great effect.

An attempt was made to poison Luther by means of a Polish Jew, but it failed.

The controversy concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the eucharist, again agitated the reformers. Luther believed in consubstantiation.\* In this he was opposed by Zwingli and the Swiss divines, and many, alas! too many, angry pamphlets passed.

The emperor, Charles 5th, together with

\* See No. III. of the Appendix.

the papists, breathing out much threatening against the Lutherans, and making many preparations that savoured of an assault, the elector of Saxony, with the landgrave of Hesse, and several others, entered into a league for their common defence. Luther steadily opposed offensive war, and advocated nothing but a defence against the popish princes. But the diet of Spires, which was much suspected, passed off without any steps being taken against the Lutherans, and an interval of quiet again returned. This interval Luther improved, as usual, by promoting the holy cause.

In 1527, took place a visitation of the electorate of Saxony. Sundry directions for the government of the church were published by Melancthon. In a preface to these, Luther showed the great use of ecclesiastical visitations, and censured the neglect of the bishops of those times. One of the directions defined the duty of a superintendant, an officer intended to act the part of bishop. He was directed to inspect the conduct of the clergy in his diocese, to examine candidates for holy orders, and to admonish defaulters.

In 1528, the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse made preparations to attack their popish adversaries, but Luther persuaded them to continue at peace, and wait for an attack.

On the delicate subject of predestination, Luther always displayed great moderation. Content with what scripture had revealed, he never undertook to explain it with any thing like systematic precision. To a clergyman who applied to him for advice concerning it, he wrote thus:

"Many have perished in the indulgence of such curious inquiries; it is a temptation which leads even to blasphemy. I, myself, by giving way to it, have more than once been reduced to the last extremity. We, poor mortals, by faith can scarcely comprehend a few rays of the Divine promise, or receive in practice a few sparks of the Divine precepts; and yet, feeble and impure as we are, we rashly attempt to fathom the majesty of God in all its brightness. Do we not know that his ways are past finding out? Instead of using well the mild light of the promises which is adapted to our faculties, we rush with eyes of moles,

to view at once the majestic splendour of the Deity. What wonder then if his glory should overwhelm us in the attempt to investigate it! We ought to know that there is such a thing as the secret will of God: but the danger is when we attempt to comprehend it. I am wont to check myself with that answer of Christ to Peter, who had asked what was to become of John;—“What is that to thee? follow thou me.” But suppose we could give an accurate account of the judgments of Almighty God in his secret determinations: what advantage would accrue to us from such knowledge, beyond what lies open to us from the promises and the precepts—from the former addressed to our faith—from the latter to our practice? Tell your friend, if he would have peace of mind, to abstain from such intricate speculations. The subject is incomprehensible, and the study of it may drive him to despair and blasphemy. Let him not give way to Satan, who would weary him out, by presenting impossibilities to his mind. Let him exercise faith in the promises, and obey the commandments; and when he has discharged those duties well, he will be able to judge

whether he will have any time left for impossibilities. There is no other remedy than to neglect, and not give way to such thoughts; though this is a difficult task, because Satan suggests the absolute necessity of attending to them. This battle, however, must be fought; and many persons fail in the contest by not suspecting their thoughts to be the temptations of Satan; whereas, these are the very fiery darts of THAT WICKED ONE. He himself fell from Heaven by aiming at a knowledge above his station. Thus also he vanquished Adam, by teaching him to be dissatisfied with his ignorance concerning the will of God. Flight is the true wisdom here; there is no room for Christ to dwell in the heart, as long as reasonings of this kind are uppermost." In another letter, while he admits the preordination and foreknowledge of God, nevertheless, from Ezek. xviii. 23, "Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die, saith the Lord God," he argues, that God chose, and seriously decreed from eternity, the possibility of the salvation and everlasting happiness of all men. And hence he concludes, that the general promises of a gracious God ought by no means

to be limited; nor those suggestions of Satan to be indulged, which would separate us from the Divine mercy, which is represented in scripture as infinite. He then refers the afflicted penitent to the voice of God himself, "This is my beloved Son, hear him;" and to the words of Christ, proclaiming in the streets, "Come unto me, all ye that labour." He invites all, even the very worst, as publicans and harlots. Why should we perplex ourselves with difficult and circuitous roads, when the direct road is so clearly pointed out to us in the gospel."

A conference on the subject of consubstantiation took place between Luther and Zwingli at Marpurg. The violent temper of Luther on this occasion gave much grief to his friends. However, sundry articles of concord were agreed upon.

In 1529, a new diet met at Spires, which published a decree of intolerance against the Lutherans. Against this decree, fourteen imperial cities, with the elector of Saxony, and sundry other princes, solemnly protested. Hence arose the term protestant applied to the reformers. Charles 5th was so enraged

at this protest, that the authors of it thought fit to draw nearer their bonds of concord; and they formed the league of Smalcald for their mutual defence.

In 1530, sat the diet of Augsburgh, at which was presented the famous confession of faith sketched by Luther, and elaborately drawn up by Melancthon. At this diet a decree was passed against the Lutherans, still more violent than the edict of Worms.

But Charles was so busied with wars against the Turks, the French, and others, that he was not able, for many years, to carry on a persecution. Luther, too, continually strove to prevent any violent measures on the part of the protestants, so that peace was maintained during his life. Various concessions, however, were gained from the emperor, and, under the indefatigable labours of the reformer, the cause of truth spread, and became more established from year to year.

At length, his health having been gradually declining for some time, in 1546, Luther closed his valuable life at Isleben, the place of his nativity, whither he had gone, though in a rigorous season, to compose a

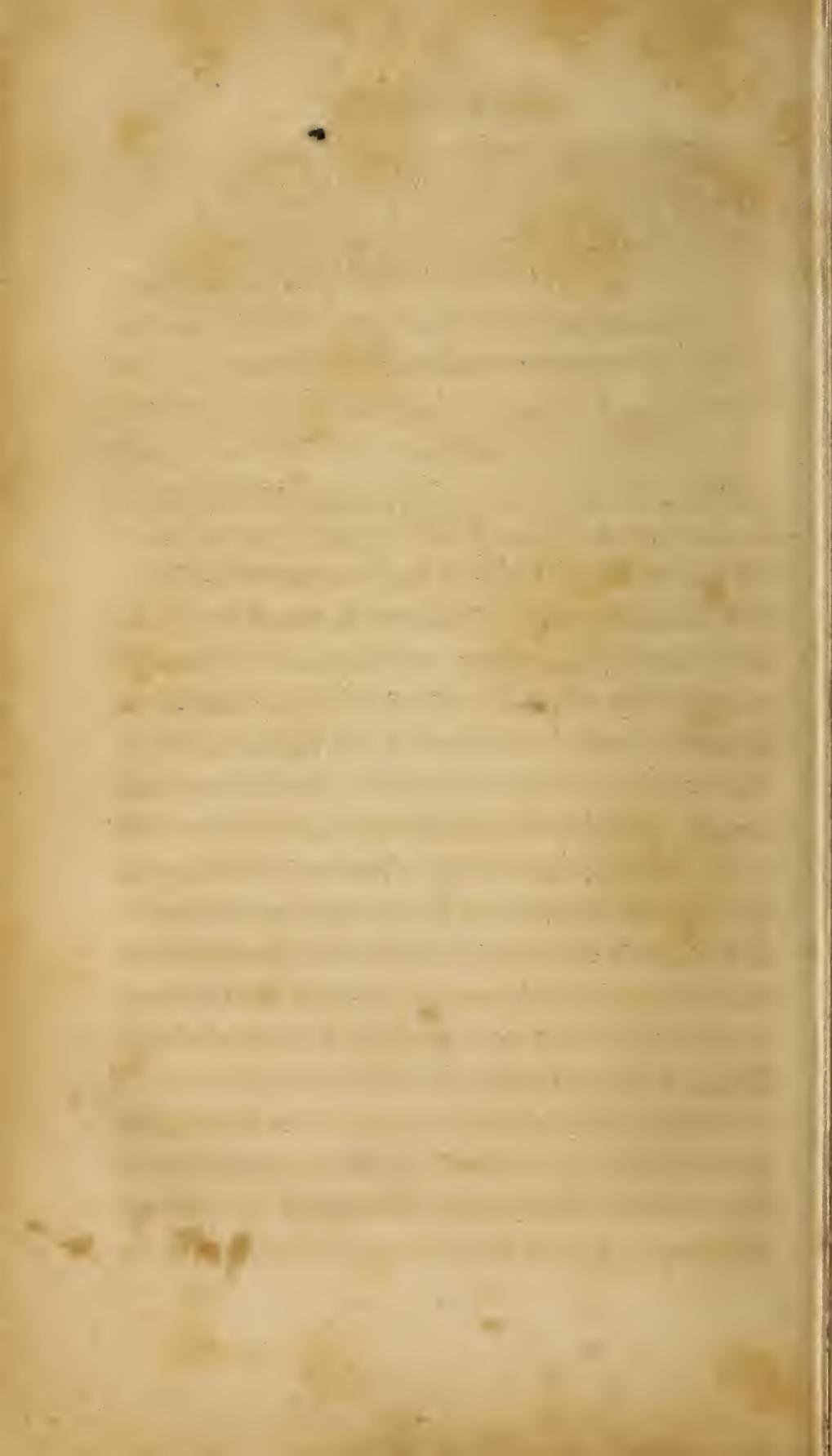
difference among the counts of Mansfeldt. His funeral was celebrated, by order of the elector of Saxony, with extraordinary pomp.

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#### NOTE.

Notice of the prominent events occurring in Germany, from the diet of Augsburgh to the year 1546, will be found in the preceding history of the Reformation in England.



SKETCH  
OF  
THE LIFE OF CALVIN.

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JOHN CHAUVIN, or, as he is usually called, John Calvin, was born at Noyon, in Picardy, on the 10th of July, 1509. In the house of a noble family, he received, in his childhood, the rudiments of a liberal education, and, along with the children of that family, he was sent to Paris, where he advanced in learning with great rapidity. At the age of twelve he is supposed to have received the tonsure, or the first part of the ceremony of ordination, according to the rites of the Romish church. He was then presented with a benefice; and, in 1527, with another; which, in 1529, he exchanged for a curacy in the native place of his father. Here he sometimes preached, though he was attached to the clergy only by

the tonsure. But his father, anxious to see him prosperous in the things of the present life, diverted his attention, with some difficulty, to the study of the civil law. At the university of Orleans, and also at that of Bourges, he attained the first rank among his fellow students. As a mark of high respect, the faculty of the former unanimously voted him a doctor's degree.

But the study of the law by no means engrossed his entire attention. Through the instrumentality of Peter Olivetan, a near kinsman, he became acquainted with the doctrines of the reformation, then spreading in France. Obtaining the holy scriptures, he applied himself to the study of them with the greatest assiduity, until, at length, he determined to renounce the superstitions of Rome.

While at Bourges, he occasionally preached at Ligniers, a small town in the province of Berri. But the death of his father suddenly recalled him to Noyon.

At the age of twenty-two, he prepared and published a commentary on Seneca's epistle concerning clemency. This he did for the purpose of impressing mild and tolerant principles on the government of France; as, from

observing the progress of the reformed doctrines, he anticipated much persecution.

Left to his own choice of a pursuit for life, he renounced his legal studies, devoted himself to the cause of religion, and became active in illustrating and confirming the doctrines of the Bible, in the private assemblies held at Paris.

Pursuant to the advice of Calvin, Nicholas Cop, rector of the university of Paris, delivered a discourse, on the festival of All-saints, animadverting on the superstitions of the day. This gave great offence. Cop was obliged to fly. Calvin, who also was pursued, escaped by being absent from his lodgings, but his papers were seized, to the great hazard of many of his friends, whose letters in favour of reformation were among them. The queen of Navarre interposed, and arrested the fury of the inquisition. Calvin was kindly received at her house; and, through her intercession with the king, his personal safety was secured.

From Paris, Calvin retired to Saintonge. While there, he wrote, at the request of his friend Lewis du Tillet, some short Christian exhortations, which were used as homilies for

the purpose of awakening an inquiry after truth among the people.

In 1534, he returned to Paris. "There he was to have had a conference with Servetus, who had begun to propagate his heterodox opinions respecting the Trinity: but Servetus failed to appear, though Calvin attended at the time and place appointed, at the imminent hazard of his life; for this year was peculiarly troublesome and dangerous to the reformed." The French king ordered eight of them to be burned alive, and "swore that he would not spare even his own children, if they were infected with such abominable heresies."

Calvin departed to Basil, in Switzerland, where, in 1535, he published his celebrated Institutes of the Christian Religion. The design of this work was to defend the reformers from the aspersions of the papists, who were endeavouring to confound them with the anabaptist enthusiasts. In a preface, dedicating it to Francis I., the author endeavoured to soften the persecuting spirit of that monarch. This preface is distinguished by the elegance of its Latin, and the Institutes themselves are in the highest estimation with all who hold their views of doctrine. They were, in sub-

sequent editions, repeatedly revised and enlarged by Calvin, and have been translated into a variety of languages.

After publishing this work, the reformer went into Italy, on a visit to the duchess of Ferrara, a nursing mother of protestantism; but the inquisition hearing of his arrival, compelled him to depart. He returned to France, but, on account of the persecution still raging there, he resolved to take up his abode in Basil or Strasburgh, and pursue his studies in quiet seclusion. On his way, he found the direct road to the latter place impeded by the troops of the emperor, then invading France. In consequence of this, he changed his route, intending to pass through Geneva. Arrived at that city, he was arrested in his course by the reformers, Farel and Viret, who entreated him to remain and assist them in their labours. He refused, until, at length, Farel addressed him in the language of imprecation—"I declare to you, in the name of Almighty God, if, under the pretext of love to your studies, you refuse to unite your labours with ours, in the work of the Lord, the Lord will curse you in your retirement, as seeking your own will, and not his." Awed by this appeal, Calvin

yielded. He accepted of the office which was offered him, and became both a preacher and professor of divinity. This occurred in 1536.

The Genevese had lately banished their bishop, who, contrary to the gospel, was prince as well as pastor, and who, moreover, was a persecuting papist. They had also defeated the duke of Savoy, who claimed some authority over them; and had formed themselves into a republic, under four syndicks, twenty-five senators, and a council of two hundred—the officers recognised by their ancient constitution. The principles of the reformation had been spread among them by the labours of Farel and Viret, and, in full assembly, they had renounced the pope.

Perceiving that this people, though reformed in name, were far from being all reformed in fact, Calvin, immediately on his settlement among them, entered upon a course of active labours. He prepared a formula of Christian faith, and a catechism; and, in 1537, with the help of Farel and Corault, he succeeded in making the senate and people openly abjure the church of Rome, and swear to a summary of doctrine and form of discipline which he had drawn up. The church government re-

cognised by this form, was presbyterian, though, from a work written by him in 1544, on the subject of reforming the church, it would appear that he desired another—"If they would bring unto us," says he, "such a hierarchy, wherein the bishops shall so rule as that they refuse not to submit themselves to Christ, that they depend upon him as their only head, &c. then, surely, if there should be any that shall not submit themselves to that hierarchy, reverently, and with the greatest obedience that may be, I confess there is no anathema of which they are not worthy."\*

But, though his labours were thus successful, he was not without difficulties. The anabaptists endeavoured to spread their disorganizing tenets at Geneva. With them, he held a public disputation, and they were defeated. One Peter Caroli, an outcast from the Sorbonne, accused him of heretical notions on the subject of the Trinity. The reformer proposed to assemble a synod of ministers in the canton of Bern. These pronounced Caroli guilty of defamation. He, however, persisted in his charge, and was, at length, banished by the

\* See No. IV. of the Appendix.

senate. But the greatest trouble arose from the Genevese themselves. They had sworn to uphold the principles of the gospel; but the majority had not yet received them in their hearts. Many wished to live in sinful practices, with none to molest or make them afraid. Animosities, engendered during the war with the duke of Savoy, divided many families and individuals, producing the most injurious effects. Against these, Calvin and his colleagues preached, and exerted their official influence. They called, also, on the civil authority to interfere for the preservation of public morals. But, their enemies were only exasperated; and the more violent wished for nothing so much as to relieve themselves from the vigilance of such pastors. A controversy, which arose about this time, between the church of Geneva, and that of Bern, on the subject of ceremonies, gave the disaffected an opportunity of gaining their wish. The church of Geneva was in the habit of using leavened bread in the eucharist; had removed all the baptismal fonts, and abolished every festival except Sunday. Of these things the churches of the canton of Bern disapproved; and, by a synod held at Lausanne, required

a change. This requisition the ministers of Geneva refused to obey, alleging that they had not been called to the synod, and demanding the privilege of being heard. The demand was acceded to, and a council appointed to be held at Zurich, to decide. But, taking advantage of the refusal to obey the synod of Lausanne, the enemies of Calvin procured an order from an assembly of the people, that he, with Farel and Corault, should leave the city in two days. "Had I been," said he, "in the service of men, this would have been a poor reward; but it is well. I have served Him who never fails to repay his servants whatever he has promised."

The banished ministers proceeded to the council of Zurich—the synod of the Swiss churches. This synod directed the church of Bern to use its influence with the Genevese, to revoke their decree of expulsion. The intercession was made, but it did not avail.

Calvin repaired to Strasburgh, where he became, once more, professor of theology, and preacher of the gospel. He collected a French church, which he modelled after the plan of that at Geneva. He discharged the duties of his professorship with so much ability, that the

seminary at Strasburgh increased in celebrity, and in the number of students. In 1539, he published a commentary on the Romans; and a small work on the Lord's Supper, intended to allay the controversy between the adherents of Luther and Zuingle. He addressed sundry letters to the church of Geneva. He returned an answer to an able and eloquent letter of cardinal Sadolet, to the Genevese, endeavouring to recal them to the Romish communion. This answer so unmasked the abominations of popery, that the cardinal was completely frustrated.

In 1540, Calvin was married. In 1541, he was appointed by the divines of Strasburgh "to attend the diet convoked to meet at Worms, and afterwards at Ratisbon, for settling the religious differences which had arisen in Germany." While there, he proved highly useful to the protestants of France, procuring an address from the states and princes assembled to the French king, in behalf of the persecuted.

The lapse of two years caused a great change in the face of affairs at Geneva. A desire for Calvin's return became general, and an embassy was sent to entreat him. He, at

first, refused, but, after much solicitation, and some intercession, consented. He arrived at Geneva on the 13th of September, 1541. He was received with gratulations, and the senate made a public acknowledgment to God for so signal a benefit.

He immediately attended to the subject of discipline. “He projected a kind of police, and procured the establishment of a tribunal called the consistory, with power to take cognizance of all offences, and to inflict canonical punishments, even to excommunication. In cases requiring the infliction of severe penalties, it reported to the council of the city, with its own judgment on the evidence adduced.” Considerable opposition was made, but Calvin’s system was, at length, adopted.

The course of labours on which he now entered, was extremely severe. He preached every day of every other week: on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, he gave lectures in theology: on Thursday, he presided in the meeting of the presbytery; and on Friday, expounded the scriptures to the congregation. Besides all this, he carried on an extensive correspondence, composed various works of controversy, defended the reformation against

its numerous enemies, assisted the council of Geneva, by deciding points of law and framing edicts, and produced works of learning and ability, intended for general edification.

"The deference shown to Calvin's opinions, and the respect paid to his personal character, were astonishing. His disapprobation of any tenet was sufficient to procure its rejection, and all who treated him ill were considered as enemies of the state. Castalio, having attempted to disseminate some doctrines which Calvin abhorred, was instantly denounced as a heretic, and obliged to leave Geneva."

In 1544, he published a work entitled, "The necessity of reforming the church;" and another "against the errors and fanaticism of the anabaptists and libertines." He exposed the fallacy of the position held by the libertines, that God is the author of sin. This last work offended the queen of Navarre: but he succeeded in regaining her good opinion.

The vices of many of the Genevese caused them to organize faction after faction against the discipline of the church. Continual attempts were made to wrest the power of excommunication out of the hands of the consistory, and place it in the senate. The re-

former was obliged to be always on the alert. He preached closely. He laboured faithfully. At one time, a body of the disaffected, led on by Perrin, had gained so considerable an advantage, that the council of two hundred was convoked. On the day of their assembling, September 16th, 1547, Calvin, being apprehensive of a tumult, went to the council chamber. He found before the door a noisy crowd, whose violence it was difficult to appease; and, even in the hall of legislation, it was only by his thrusting his body between their contending swords that he restrained the combatants. The result was, that the consistory was allowed to retain its spiritual authority.

Calvin, from time to time, exercised a watchful care over the protestant churches in France. As early as 1537, he wrote to his friend Ceminus, showing the danger of a compliance with popish superstition, into which some were falling; and also to Roussel, bishop of Oleron, exhorting him to a faithful discharge of the episcopal office: and he continued thus to counsel both individuals and communities. He repeatedly applied to the German princes, to use their influence with

Francis I. in order to procure toleration. And when, notwithstanding all these applications, in 1545, the storm of persecution burst over the vallies of Piedmont, and men, women, and children, were put to the sword, or enveloped in the flame, because they would not declare themselves papists, he extended his protection to such as were able to escape, and procured for many of them an asylum in Geneva.

Calvin had, also, considerable correspondence with the reformers of the church of England. In October, 1548, he wrote to the protector, entreating him to press on in the good work, approving of what had been already done, and giving wholesome counsel. In the course of his letter, he drew up what he considered a summary of Christian doctrines, in the following words, viz. "That we have one God, the Governor of our consciences: for the direction of these, we must make use of his law alone, for the rule of devotion, lest we bring to his worship any of the vain traditions of men: he must, moreover, be worshipped by all, according to his own nature, with the whole mind and heart. But, since there is nothing in us except a mise-

rable corruption, which occupies both our senses and affections, we must acknowledge that entire abyss of iniquity, and dread it when acknowledged. In this manner, having obtained a true knowledge of our state, as being in ourselves, broken, wounded, lost, deprived of all dignity and wisdom, and finally of any power to do good, we must, at last, flee to the Lord Jesus Christ, the only fountain of all blessings, to partake of whatever he offers, and principally that incomparable treasure of his death and passion; by which method alone we may become entirely reconciled to God, the Father. Purified by the sprinkling of his blood, we shall be assured that none of those stains will remain in us, which would cover us with shame before his celestial throne. We shall be persuaded of the efficacy of his perpetual sacrifice, by which we have sealed to us the gratuitous remission of sins, and on which we must fasten as the refuge and anchor of salvation. Being sanctified by his spirit, we shall be consecrated in obedience to the righteousness of God; and confirmed by his grace, we shall come off more than conquerors over Satan, the world, and the flesh. Being members of his body, we shall

not doubt but that God will number us in the family of his children; and we shall address him with entire confidence by the legitimate and endearing name of Father. This is the design of the true doctrine, which is ever to be preserved and heard, by all in the church of God, that all may sincerely aim at this work; and that each individual, gradually withdrawing himself from the world, may raise himself to Christ his head, who is in heaven, by perseverance, prayer, and habitual holiness." "The door," said he, "must be shut against various innovations. The only means to be used for this purpose, is, to have a summary of doctrine received by all, which they may follow in preaching. To the observance of this, all bishops and clergy should be bound by oath." Again, he said, "the church of God cannot be without a catechism; for therein the true seed of doctrine is to be contained, from which, at length, the pure and seasonable harvest will be matured; and from this the seed may be multiplied abundantly." And again—"As to the formula of prayers, and ecclesiastical ceremonies, I very much approve that a proper one should exist, from which the pastors should not be permitted

to vary, in the exercise of their office; and which might consult the simplicity and ignorance of some persons, and also establish a more certain agreement of all the churches among themselves. This would, moreover, put a check upon the instability and levity of those persons, who might attempt innovations, and it would have the same tendency as I have before shown the catechism would have. Thus ought to be established a catechism, the administration of the sacraments, and the public formula of prayers."

Along with this letter to the protector, Calvin sent one to the king. The correspondence between him and the reformers of England, was continued from year to year. In 1552, Cranmer addressed to Calvin a letter, of which the following is an extract:

"Thomas Cranmer to Calvin, greeting: As nothing tends more to separate the churches of God, than heresies and differences about the doctrines of religion, so nothing more effectually unites them, and fortifies more powerfully the fold of Christ, than the uncorrupted doctrine of the gospel, and union in received opinions. I have often wished, and now wish, that those learned and pious men, who excel

others in erudition and judgment, would assemble in some convenient place, where, holding a mutual consultation, and comparing their opinions, they might discuss all the heads of ecclesiastical doctrine, and agree not only concerning the things themselves, but the forms of expression, and deliver to posterity some work, with the weight of their authority." In answer to this, speaking of the importance of purging "the pure doctrine of the church," Calvin addressing himself to Cranmer, said—"It is especially your duty, most accomplished prelate, as you sit more elevated in the watch-tower, to continue your exertions for effecting this object. I do not say this to stimulate you afresh; as you have already, of your own accord preceded others, and voluntarily exhorted them to follow your steps. I would only confirm you in this auspicious and distinguished labour by my congratulation. We have heard of the delightful success of the gospel in England." "I know, moreover, that your purpose is not confined to England alone; but, at the same moment, you consult the benefit of all the world. The generous disposition and uncommon piety of his majesty, the king, are justly to be admired, as he is

pleased to favour this holy purpose of holding such a council, and offers a place for its session in his kingdom. I wish it might be effected, that learned and stable men, from the principal churches, might assemble in some place, and, after discussing with care, each article of faith, deliver to posterity, from their general opinion of them all, the clear doctrine of the scriptures." After declaring his willingness to attend this synod, Calvin concludes, by saying—"I not only exhort you, but I conjure you to proceed, until something shall be effected, if not every thing you could wish. Farewell, most accomplished prelate, sincerely respected by me. May the Lord go on to guide you by his spirit, and bless your holy labours." Something occurring to prevent the proposed council, Calvin wrote afterwards to the archbishop, "Since we can by no means expect at this time, what we so much desired, that the principal doctors, from those churches which have embraced the pure doctrines of the gospel, should assemble, and, from the word of God, publish a definite and luminous confession, concerning all the points now controverted; I very much approve, reverend sir, of your design, that the English should

maturely determine their religion among themselves." "It is especially your business, and that of all those who have the government in their hands, to unite your exertions to effect this object. You see what your station requires, and more imperiously demands of you, in return for the office which you hold by his favour. The chief authority is in your hand, confirmed both by the greatness of the honour, and the long established opinion concerning your prudence and integrity."

The enemies of Calvin at Geneva still continued to assail him. They heaped upon him every variety of insult. He caused them to be arraigned before the senate, and, in December, 1548, they renewed their oath to be reconciled. "He had a keen controversy with Jerome Bolseck, a Carmelite friar, who impugned his peculiar doctrine of absolute predestination, and openly taught the sentiments on that subject, which were afterwards maintained by Arminius. They disputed the point in church; but Calvin displayed such a superiority in argument and erudition, that, in the judgment of all present, he obtained the victory; and, according to custom, his antagonist, who, besides his difference with Calvin,

was of a troublesome temper, was first cast into prison, and then banished from the city."

Among other plans made use of at Geneva, for promoting the spread of the truth, it was decreed by the senate, that the ministers should, at stated times, visit every family, attended by the decurion of each ward, and a ruling elder, and question each person summarily, concerning the reason of his faith. This was followed by the best consequences.

In 1553, Michel Servetus, a Spanish physician, who had become notorious for sundry heresies, being condemned to death by the papists at Vienna, fled for his life. After wandering for some time as a fugitive, he arrived, at length, at Geneva. Calvin caused him to be apprehended and brought before the senate. The charges against him were, blasphemy and heresy. Calvin was appointed to hold a public disputation with him. The senate submitted to his choice, whether he would be sent back to the papists at Vienna, or abide by their decision. Servetus chose the latter; whereupon he was brought to trial. The charges against him were declared to be proved. From this judgment he appealed to the four Swiss churches; and to them the

senate forwarded the charges, proofs and replies. They also decided against him, and advised his execution; and, accordingly, on the 27th October, he was burnt. Calvin endeavoured to have the mode of his execution changed; but, as he said in his letter to Farel, he hoped the sentence, at least, would be capital. In viewing this event, we are led to regret that the principles of toleration were so little understood. Even the reformers appear not to have arrived at a perfect conviction that prayer and sound argument are the only legitimate weapons against heresy.

Bertilier, clerk of the council of Geneva, having been excommunicated by the consistory, appealed to the senate, and, that body deciding against him, he carried the subject before the council. There a decree was passed in his favour, in which the senate subsequently coincided. Calvin, who contended that the church alone had the power of spiritual censures, went to the church a short time afterwards, to administer the sacrament of the supper. Before proceeding to the distribution of the elements, he resolutely declared, "After the example of Chrysostom, sooner will I suf-

fer death, than permit this hand to administer the holy things of the Lord to those who are lawfully condemned as despisers of God." Bertilier declined approaching the table, and the senate recalled their decree.

The persecution, which arose in England on the accession of queen Mary, having driven many of the reformers of that country to the continent, and, among those who took refuge at Frankfort, a difference of opinion arising on the subject of the liturgy, Calvin wrote exhorting them to peace. He advised them to make their liturgy as pure as possible, leaving out every thing that savoured of popery. A part of these exiles removed to Geneva.

In 1554, a controversy arose at Strasburgh on the subject of the eucharist. This Calvin endeavoured to allay. In a letter written to the pastor of the church of Strasburgh, complaining of the severity used toward a fellow minister, he says, "If that excellent servant of God, and faithful doctor of the church, Luther, was now living, even he would not be so severe or implacable, but that he would willingly admit this confession, that what the sacraments represent, is truly given us; and, therefore, in the Lord's supper we are made

partakers of the body and blood of Christ. For, how often has he declared, that the only ground of his contention was, that it might be manifest, that the Lord did not trifle with us by empty signs, but that he effected within, what he proposed to our eyes, and thence the effect was connected with the signs. This is agreed upon among us, unless I am greatly deceived, that the Lord's supper is not a theatrical spectacle of the spiritual food, but that what is represented is really given; because, at the supper, the pious souls are fed with the flesh and blood of Christ." This controversy about the eucharist, was continued with various persons, even as late as 1561. Calvin wrote several tracts upon the subject, defending and explaining the articles of agreement entered into by the Swiss churches, &c. He had various other controversies, as, one with Gribauld, a heretic, who was banished from Geneva. Bolseck, who had before been banished from Geneva, being in the canton of Bern, and there attacking anew, the doctrine of Divine sovereignty, Calvin repaired thither to contend with him. The result was, that Bolseck was ordered to depart from the territory of that canton, as was also Castalio,

another opponent of Calvin. The two senates of Bern and Geneva, entered into an agreement, that those who, on account of heresy, were banished from the territory of one, should not be allowed to remain in the territory of the other.

In 1558, Calvin wrote to the landgrave of Hesse, entreating him to intercede with Henry II., the successor of Francis on the throne of France, in behalf of the protestants, who were persecuted with the utmost fury; twenty-one of them being burned alive at Paris. From year to year, the persecution continued to rage, and, at the same time, the truth continued to spread. Geneva itself was threatened, but the storm was averted.

In 1560, a new seminary was dedicated to the service of God, at Geneva. The buildings were large, and professors numerous. Calvin held the theological chair, and Beza was made president. This institution was intended as a means of spreading the doctrines of the reformation.

The persecution in France driving some of the protestants of that country to England, where Elizabeth now shielded the reformation, they were received with hospitality, and a

place of worship appointed them, in which they might conduct their exercises according to the Genevese mode. Grindall, bishop of London, especially, became their friend. To him Calvin wrote in the most respectful and grateful terms. He also dedicated to Elizabeth the last edition of his *Institutes*.

Calvin's life drew near its close. In 1556, he was seized with a quartan ague, which continued its attacks until he was reduced to the greatest debility, insomuch, that, in 1558, he was obliged to omit his public sermons and lectures in theology, though he still devoted day and night to dictating and writing letters. "How unpleasant to me," he would say sometimes, "is an idle life." In a letter to a friend, written in 1560, he informed him that he dictated from his bed, "where, according to my custom, I lie down one half of my time, that I may be able to improve with more strength, the remaining hours." His active mind rose superior to the sufferings of his body. When oppressed with head-ache, weakness of the bowels, and the pains of the gout, he would dictate till his amanuensis was wearied. On the 2d February, 1564, he preached his last sermon, and closed his theo-

logical lectures. The asthma had almost destroyed his voice. His end rapidly drew nigh. Amid the severest pains, he was patient and tranquil, often exclaiming, "How long, O Lord." He still continued his mental labours, and when his friends expostulated, he said, "What! would you that when the Lord comes, he should surprise me in idleness?" On the 27th of March, he was carried to the council chamber, where he presented Beza to the patronage of the senate. On the 2d of April, he was carried to the house of worship in an easy chair, and received, for the last time, the sacrament, from the hands of Beza. On the 25th, he made his will, commending his soul to God. He gave his parting advice to the senators, and also to the ministers of the church. He had himself been perpetual moderator of the presbytery. "When I first came to this city," said he, "the gospel was indeed preached, but the affairs of religion were in a most disordered state, as if Christianity consisted in nothing but the destruction of images. There were many wicked men, from whom I suffered many extreme indignities; but the Lord God himself, so strengthened me, even me, I say, who am by nature so

timid, (I speak as the fact is) that I was enabled to resist all their efforts." "Persevere then, my brethren, in your vocation," &c. "After this, his few remaining days were devoted to prayer and meditation; and, on the 24th of May, he calmly fell asleep in Jesus."

SKETCH  
OF  
THE LIFE OF ZUINGLE.

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ULRIC ZUINGLE, or ZUINGLIUS, was born January 1, 1484, at Wildhausen, in the county of Tockenburgh, in Switzerland. His education, which was liberal, was completed at the university of Vienna. In his 18th year, he became classical teacher at Basil. Four years afterwards he took the degree of M. A. and, being chosen pastor of Glarus, was ordained by the bishop of Constance. Having been trained by a teacher who accustomed him to think for himself, without being trammeled by the system of the schools, he pursued his inquiries to a discovery of the corruptions of Rome. The New Testament was

his principal counsellor. He made that the directory of his faith, and he also attended to many of those authors who had been censured by the papacy. But, though he had thus become dissatisfied with existing errors, he did not immediately separate from the pope, but, for ten years, pursued a course of practical instruction at Glarus, contenting himself with exposing, from time to time, some of the superstitions of the church. From Glarus he removed to the abbey of Einsidlin. While there, he preached against vows, pilgrimages, and offerings; he caused the relics to be buried; the inscription over the abbey gate—"Here plenary remission of sins is obtained," to be effaced; and he introduced among the nuns the habit of reading the New Testament. He also taught the necessity of purity of heart and life. He became more and more eminent, and excited more and more jealousy in such as were opposed to reformation, but his ecclesiastical superiors allowed him, as yet, to remain unmolested. In 1519, he was invited to the cathedral at Zurich. On being installed there, he announced his intention of preaching from the gospel of Matthew, with no other comment than the scriptures would afford him.

This novel plan of expounding fully the word of God drew together large auditories, and excited great admiration. The iniquitous traffic of indulgences, which roused the spirit of Luther in Saxony, was carried into Switzerland. The agent whose business it was to dispose of these lures to perdition, met with great success; until he came to Zurich; there, he was so effectually opposed by Zuingle, that he was obliged to quit the city, and retire into Italy.

Zuingle was a man of adventurous genius, and of great intrepidity. He was remarkable for his penetration, and, above all, was learned in the word of God; so that he was well qualified to be a leader in the cause of truth. So sensible were the papists of his weight of character, that he was much courted by the cardinals, and pope Adrian sent him, by his nuncio, a brieve written with his own hand. Moreover, the force of Italian gold was tried upon him, but he was not open to a bribe.

Being an enemy to offensive war, Zuingle, in 1522, obtained the passage of a law, in the assembly of the canton of Zurich, abolishing all alliances and subsidies for the term of twenty-five years.

He declared the superiority of the rules of

the gospel over those of ecclesiastical discipline, and when some persons were denounced to the magistrate, for infringing the fast of Lent, without a dispensation, he defended them. The word of God he considered the authority from which there was no appeal, and the decisions of the church as binding only so far as they were founded in that word. At length he openly avowed the principles of the reformation, and when, in consequence, he was called to give an account of his doctrine, the great council of Zurich decided, "That Zwingli, having been neither convicted of heresy, nor refuted, should continue to preach the gospel as he had already done; that the pastors of Zurich, and its territory, should rest their discourses on the words of scripture alone." But, though he was thus supported by the magistracy, he appeared more anxious to lay a solid foundation for a salutary change, by instructing the people, than to hazard too much by hastily abolishing ceremonies and modes of worship. In 1524, the pictures and statues were removed, and, step by step, the simplicity of the gospel was introduced, until, in 1525, the mass was abolished.

In 1525, the anabaptists attacked Zuingle. They began by insinuating into the minds of the people that the reformation was not sufficiently spiritual. They then addressed Zuingle himself, charging him with conducting the business of religion in a slow and frigid manner. They insisted on the necessity of adult baptism in all cases, and declared rebaptization the criterion of a union with Christ. The senate caused conferences to be held on the subject, but they were in vain. The anabaptists at length became furious. They boasted of having all things in common, and threatened destruction to all who would not follow their example. They also pretended to prophecy—crying “Wo to Zurich! Wo to Zurich! Repent, or perish!”—allowing the same space for repentance that was allowed to Nineveh. Other conferences were appointed, but these fanatics were not open to argument. Finally, the senate made their offence capital, and, a year or two after, one of them suffered.

Zuingle differed from Calvin on the subject of the Divine decrees, and from Luther on the manner of Christ’s presence in the sacrament. Luther, as is well known, held the

doctrine of consubstantiation. Zuingle, on the other hand, regarded the Lord's supper as only commemorative and symbolical. Between these two, and their respective adherents, a vehement controversy was carried on, which continued for several years, to the great injury of the reformation. At length, in 1529, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, anxious to close the dispute, invited Luther and Zuingle to a conference at Marpurg. Thither they repaired, Luther accompanied by Melancthon, and Zuingle by Oecolampadius. The argument continued four days, after which they all signed fourteen articles containing the essential doctrines of Christianity, and expressed a hope that their difference, with respect to the real presence, would not interrupt their harmony.

The canton of Bern followed that of Zurich in adopting the reformation. In an assembly, at which Zuingle was present, the subject was discussed, and, so triumphant were the reformers, that, in conclusion, the grand council of the canton resolved to adopt their principles. Upon this, five of the cantons, who were attached to popery, entered into a solemn engagement to prevent the doctrines of Luther

and Zuingle from being preached among them. But the hostilities, between the Roman and reformed cantons, were terminated by the treaty of Coppel, in 1529. This treaty, however, was broken, and a battle took place, at which Zuingle was present. The Zurichers, who had gone to the relief of their countrymen at Coppel, were defeated, and Zuingle was mortally wounded. His wound deprived him of his senses, but, recovering himself, "he crossed his arms on his breast and lifted his languid eyes to Heaven." In this condition he was found by some catholic soldiers, who, without knowing him, offered to bring him a confessor; but, as he made a sign of refusal, the soldiers exhorted him to recommend his soul to the Holy Virgin. On a second refusal, one of them furiously exclaimed, "Die then, obstinate heretic!" and pierced him through with a sword. His body was found on the next day, and the celebrity of his name drew together a great crowd of spectators. One of these, who had been his colleague at Zurich, after intently gazing on his face, thus expressed his feelings: "Whatever may have been thy faith, I am sure thou wert always sincere, and that thou lovedst thy country.

May God take thy soul in mercy!" Among the savage herd some voices exclaimed, "Let us burn his accursed remains!" The proposal was applauded; a military tribunal ordered the execution, and the ashes of Zwingli were scattered to the wind. Thus, at the age of 47, he terminated a glorious career by an event deeply lamented by all the friends of the reformation, and occasioning triumph to the partizans of the Romish church.

# APPENDIX.

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## No. I.

“The term *Lollard*, in ecclesiastical history, was first applied to a religious sect, differing, in many points, from the church of Rome, which arose in Germany about the beginning of the 14th century, so called, as many have imagined, from Walter Lollard, who began his career of reform in 1315, and was burnt at Cologn: though others think that Lollard was no surname, but only a term of reproach given to such, indiscriminately, as were accounted heretics, by the church of Rome.

“Many societies, consisting both of men and women, under the name of Lollards, were formed in most parts of Germany and Flanders, and were supported partly by their manual labours, and partly by charitable donations of pious persons.

“ The magistrates and inhabitants of the towns where these brethren and sisters resided, gave them particular marks of favour and protection, on account of their great usefulness to the sick and needy. Mosheim informs us, that many societies of this kind, exempted entirely from the jurisdiction of the bishops, and ranking among the religious orders, are still subsisting at Cologn, and in the cities of Flanders, though they have evidently departed from their ancient rules.

“ Lollard and his followers rejected the sacrifice of the mass, extreme unction, and penances for sin; arguing that Christ’s sacrifice was sufficient. He is likewise said to have set aside baptism, as a rite of no effect. In England, the followers of Wickliffe were called, by way of reproach, Lollards, from some affinity there was between some of their tenets.”—*Encyc. Britannica. Art. Lollards.*

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## No. II.

“ In tracing the origin of many of the corruptions of the church of Rome, we can refer a large proportion of them to a single source—

a gross and literal interpretation of the figurative language of the scriptures. The danger of perverting the sense of this portion of the sacred writings, arises chiefly from ignorance, and the indulgence of interested and carnal views of religion.

" During the earliest and purest ages of Christianity, while the Divine Spirit continued to shed in abundance his sanctifying light upon the church, the simple and expressive phraseology of the scriptures, was hardly susceptible of being greatly perverted, from either of those causes. The primitive and early liturgies and formularies of the church, often adopted, as best suited to express the worship and faith of Christians, the very language of the scriptures. Hence the figurative expressions, used in them all, in relation to the sacraments. If we recur to the homilies and expositions of the earliest Greek and Latin fathers, we find abundant evidence of the fact, that the church in those ages, was involved by the figurative language of the scriptures, or of their creeds and forms of worship, in none of the errors which have subsequently flowed from a gross literal interpretation.

" But the period of superstition, ignorance,

and ecclesiastical extravagance, which commenced as early as the 9th century, and terminated with the reformation from popery in the 16th, exhibited the utmost degeneracy and profligacy of character among nominal Christians, and gave birth to the most monstrous productions of error.

“Bellarmine informs us that the first who wrote seriously and copiously, upon the *real presence of Christ in the eucharist*, was Pascharius Rhadbertus, who lived towards the beginning of the 9th century.

“The term *transubstantiation* was unknown in the church until three hundred years afterwards. The invention of it is generally attributed to Stephen, bishop of Autun, in France, who lived about the end of the 12th century. The doctrine conveyed by it, was, however, no article of faith, as Scotus asserts, prior to the council of Lateran, held in 1215. It imports, by the unanimous consent of Roman catholic writers,

“1. That *previous* to the act of consecration, the bread and wine of the eucharist, consist, as all other material things do, of an *essential substance*, imperceptible to the senses; and of

*external and sensible qualities*, as form, colour, consistency, taste, smell, &c.

“2. That by the act of consecration, the *essential and imperceptible substance* of bread and wine, is annihilated by the power of God, while all the *external and sensible qualities* of the elements, remain unchanged; and that in place of the substance of bread and wine, is substituted the true body and blood of Jesus Christ, which was broken, and shed on the cross.

“3. That, as an inseparable and eternal union of the soul, and body,—and of the divine and human nature, of Jesus Christ, took place at his incarnation; therefore, where his body is, there his soul and divinity must be also; and consequently, that in the eucharist, the “body and blood, the soul and divinity, of Jesus Christ,” take the place of the excluded substance of the bread and wine: consequently,

“4. That “the body and blood, the soul and divinity” of Christ, are actually eaten, and drunk, and digested, by those who receive the consecrated materials:

“5. That the whole virtue of the sacrament, or the body, blood, &c. of Christ, is contained

as truly in either kind separately, as in both united:

“ 6. That consecrated bread and wine, both before and after the communion, is as truly the body and blood of Christ, as that employed in the sacrament: and finally,

“ 7. That the same worship is due to the consecrated wafers, and wine, which ought to be paid to the person of the Saviour.”

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### No. III.

“ The presence of Christ in the eucharist, under the notion of his pervading, without excluding the substance of the elements used in that sacrament, and which is denominated CONSUBSTANTIATION, forms the principal subject of disagreement between the Lutheran and other reformed churches. Luther professed to hold the doctrine in such a sense as to prevent all the absurd consequences deducible from the Romish dogma of transubstantiation. He denied that the sacrament ought to be worshipped, or reserved; or that the divine blessings connected with it, could be ap-

prehended in a carnal, or in any other than a spiritual manner, and by faith in the invisible Saviour. While the Lutheran church is still ready to maintain its peculiar sentiments, respecting the Divine presence in this sacrament, it holds with all the other reformed churches, in their views of its spiritual character, the nature of the blessing conveyed by it, and the preparation necessary for a profitable participation in it."

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## No. IV.

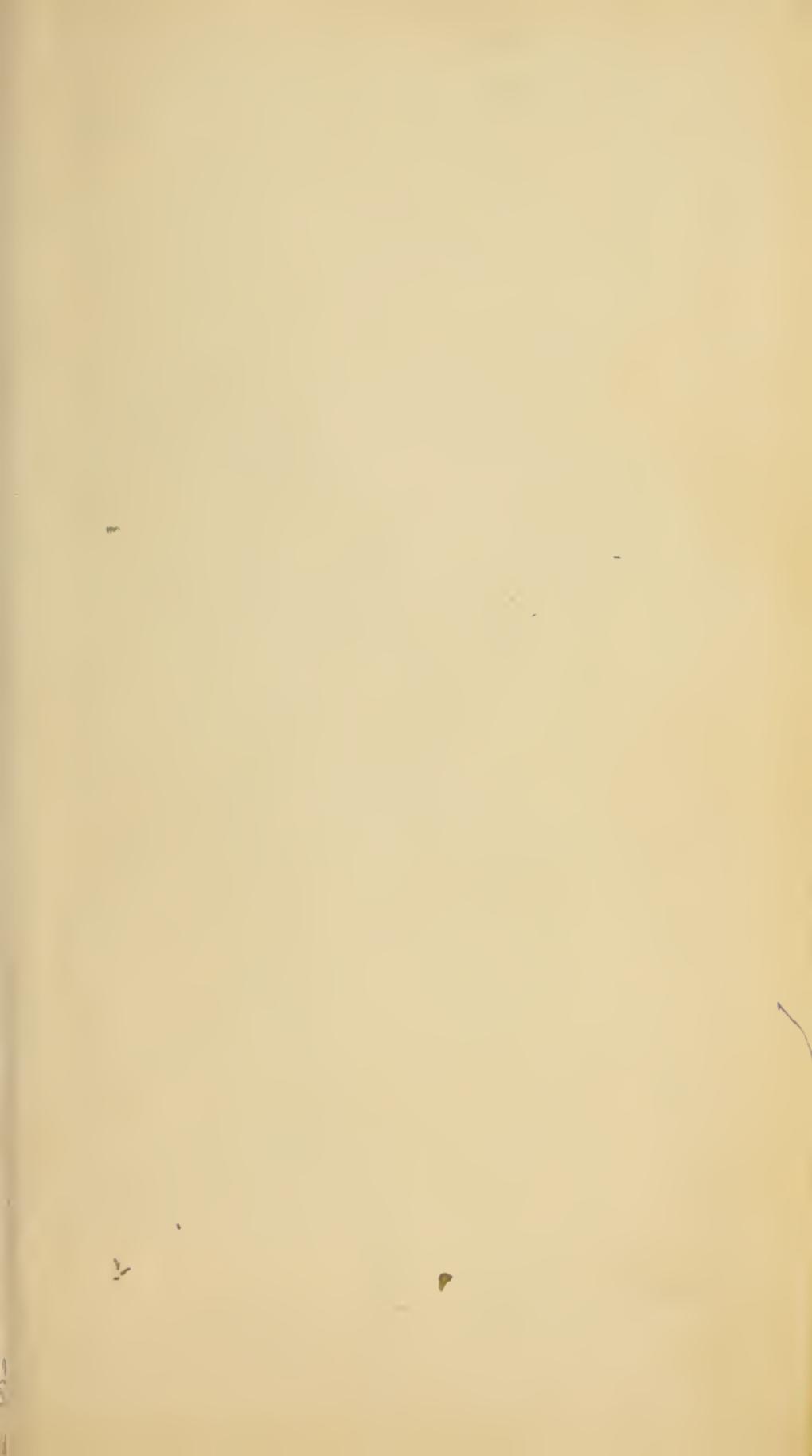
The following is the original in which he wrote, viz.—“Talem si nobis hierarchiam exhibeant, in qua sic emineant episcopi, ut Christo subesse non recusent, ut ab illo, tanquam, unico Capite pendeant, et ad ipsum, &c. tum vero nullo non anathemate, dignos fateantur, si qui erunt qui non eam reverenter summaque obedientia abservent. Calv: de necessit Ecc: Reformandæ.”

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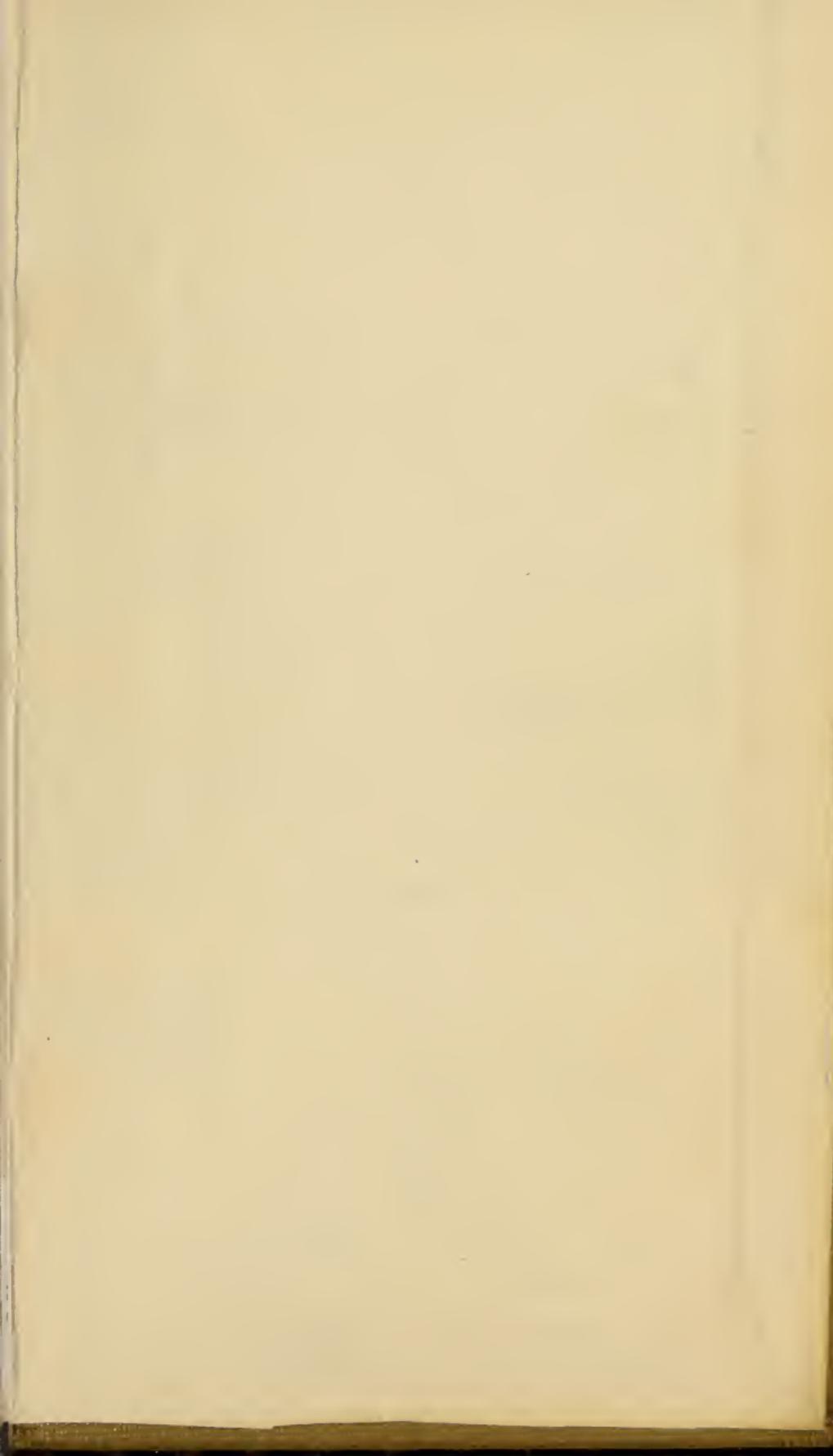
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